MOVEMENT – 1980-1984 – FORWARD (1980-1984)

Correspondence, Journals & Documents – Socialist League / Forward Group

**Archival Items – 'On File' –copies available at National Archives, Ottawa*

1980

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 Make it count, Vote NDP – Protest war hysteria

*1980-Feb-fwd-40 Protest jailing of postal leader J-C Parrot

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 Campaign for equal wages for women

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 Cure for PQ option 'worse than disease'

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 Poses Constituent Assembly—Quebec NDP voting 'yes'

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 (Quebec) Labor evaluates PQ

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 McDonald Commission whitewashes RCMP (Kopyto)

*1980-Feb-fwd-40 (Dowson) RCMP suit blocked but appeal launched

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 NDP-MPP Dukszta—(The Party) Must transcend reforms

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 A clear socialist alternative—Sudbury NDPers

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 Unionists question NDP support—Afghanistan report

*1980-Feb-fwd-40 Carter sets aflame cold war hysteria—NDP leader joins

1980-02Feb-fwd-40 Behind the anti-Soviet scare on Afghanistan

*1980-Feb-fwd-40 Oh Canada—'Canadian content' US TV programming

1980-04Apr-fwd-41 Quebec rallies to Yes – Protest violation of NDP policy

*1980-Apr-fwd-41 NDP debates Broadbent line—Editorial

*1980-Apr-fwd-41 Justice critic urges aid to Dowson suit (BC NDP-MP)

1980-04Apr-fwd-41 Womens conference highlights Day Care

*1980-Apr-fwd-41 Early Thirties (Great Depression) struggle retold (on file)

*1980-Apr-fwd-41 Dynamics of Quebec movement (general Left views—on file)

1980-04Apr-fwd-41 Left groups respond to Quebec referendum

1980-04Apr-fwd-41 Tactic of boycott—another time & place

*1980-Apr-fwd-41 Oh Canada—Broadbent's new 'nationalist' policy turn?

1980-04Apr-fwd-41 Cover-up of RCMP—FLQ terrorism created by RCMP?

*1980-Apr-fwd-41 Truth about Afghanistan-Washington's hypocrisy exposed (file)

*1980-Apr-fwd-41 Face of Africa will change with victory in Zimbabwe (on file)

1980-04Apr-fwd-41 Forward financial drive deadline set

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 Industrial policy debated in NDP—Old gang in Quebec?

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 No mileage for autoworkers in auto pacts or giveaways

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 Referendum defeat resolved nothing

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 Left defends censure of Broadbent (pro-war stance)\

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 British LP ranks fighting brass for popular party control (file)

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Problem of unionizing women (new force in labor) (on file)

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 RCMP keeps files on trade unionists

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 CLC condemns RCMP-labor ties

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 Journal indicts RCMP 'dirty tricks' – CCLA joins in

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Secret record of RCMP 'dirty tricks' (by RD)

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Conspiracy to smash legitimate political dissent (RD)

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Lawyer barred by Inquiry (Kopyto's queries Dowson suit

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Socialist Rights Defence Fund endorsers newspaper ad

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 RCMP criminals cleared by lawmen

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Support this cry for justice! (SRDF news ad)

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 Cross-country with the NDP—For a socialist party

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Biography of pioneer Prairie radical William Irvine (on file)

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Support Ed Ziemba—censured for exposing doctors

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Mandela speaks from prison (S. Africa struggle reborn) (on file)

*1980-Jul-fwd-42 Of Unity and Sects (RWL rift sees RMG walkout)

1980-07Jul-fwd-42 *Forward* economics classes – Fund drive bogs down

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 No end in sight for constitutional crisis—NDP civic slate

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 NDP riding proposes constitutional convention

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 Quebec prospects of NDP – BC leaders cop out on rally

*1980-Oct-fwd-43 Polish labor unit consolidates gains (on file)

*1980-Oct-fwd-43 Poland engulfed in wave of workers' power—Eyewitness (file)

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 Broadbent uses Poland to justify pro-NATO drive

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 Sudbury NDP leaders urge public ownership

*1980-Oct-fwd-43 Oh Canada—Tory 'foreign subsidiary buyout program'

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 (British) Labour Party youth – Left organize ranks

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 Editorial—(Intnl. union) Autonomy battle looms

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 Daycare but back—unions join struggle

*1980-Oct-fwd-43 New stage in Dowson suit against RCMP

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 Labor rallies to civil rights – Blames RCMP for firings

1980-10Oct-fwd-43 Writers back author sued by RCMPer

*1980-Oct-fwd-43 CLC condemns RCMP-labor ties

*1980-Oct-fwd-43 RCMP criminals cleared by lawmen (RD)

*1980-Oct-fwd-43	(Newspaper ad)-- Support this cry for justice!
1980-12Dec19	Forward letter from RD re bulk order of RCMP booklets

1981

1981-01Jan2	SRDF letter to Editors *This Magazine* asking for booklet review
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	Trudeau's phoney 'patriation'- Fight for disarmament!
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	Photo-Lévesque with petition against unilateral scheme
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	For anti-war party – (NDP) Spadina riding appeal
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	Brewin opposes Broadbent's retreat on NATO position
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	Women's rally for constituent assembly
*1981-Feb-fwd-44	Editorial—New forces call for constituent assembly
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	Left Caucus hears (Quebec leader) Harney—Gay policy
*1981-Feb-fwd-44	Ranks push BLP left, win right to select leader (on file)
*1981-Feb-fwd-44	Oh Canada—extent of foreign ownership in economy
*1981-Feb-fwd-44	Civil Liberties backs charging of RCMP (Dowson suit)
*1981-Feb-fwd-44	Krever (Commission) indicts RCMP acts –OHIP spying
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	Unions, NDP joining Dowson fedence fund
*1981-Feb-fwd-44	Quebec, Alberta to make public RCMP crimes responses
1981-02Feb-fwd-44	You need *Forward, Forward* needs you – subscribe!
1981-03Mar00a	*Forward* article: “Trudeau ramming thru 'patriation'
1981-03Mar00b	RD notes: “Parliament is constituent assembly of ruling class”
1981-04Apr8	Forward subscription drive letter
1981-04Apr10	*Forward* class series on the NDP: Defeat in Ontario, Anti-war

1981-07July13 *Forward* class series “The Road to Socialism”

1981-07Sum-fwd-45 For an antiwar NDP

*1981-Sum-fwd-45 Poland struggles for socialist democracy (Kopyto—on file)

*1981-Sum-fwd-45 Laborers break away for Canadian union autonomy

*1981-Sum-fwd-45 Still time to fight for constituent assemly (Edit.)

1981-07Sum-fwd-45 NDP's response to Liberal oil ripoff

1981-07Sum-fwd-45 Challenges before NDP Left Caucus—NORAD slips in

1981-07Sum-fwd-45 An open letter to NDP leader Broadbent (Macpherson)

1981-07Sum-fwd-45 More than meets the eye on Ed's El Salvador junket

*1981-Sum-fwd-45 Dowson case heads to Supreme Court (v. RCMP

*1981-Sum-fwd-45 Quebec Keable Report results in charges on RCMP

*1981-Sur-fwd-45 RCMP and the State, topic at McMaster U.

*1981-Sum-fwd-45 Behind the PQ victory (re-election analysis) (on file)

1981-07Sum-fwd-45 Jews critical of Israel-- BLP for troops out of Ireland

1981-09Sept17a *Forward* circular letter: samples of issue on Solidarnosc

1981-09Sept17b *Forward* Letter to *ICP,* New York re: English Solidarnosc

1981-09Sept-fwd-46 Inside Poland today—Program of 'Solidarnosc'

1981-10Oct19 Flyer: “Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler” protest rally-concert

1982

1982-01Jan15a Public Forum: “NDP & Peace Movement” at Ryerson

1982-01Jan15b “There is still time” to Refuse the Cruise, Let people decide

1982-01Jan15c “NDP and the antiwar Movement” by G. Doctorow

1982-01Jan15d	NDP Antiwar Cttee.”based on support of working people...”
1982-01Jan15e	“Disarmament: what can you do?” Join NDP
1982-01Jan-fwd-47	Canadians back Solidarity in cross-country protests
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	Edit.– (Trudeau) Complicit in repression (anti-Poland)
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	Polish resistance defies martial law (on file)
1982-01Jan-fwd-47	Call for independent & socialist Quebec (Manifesto)
1982-01Jan-fwd-47	Constitution cooked up in Ottawa backroom kitchen
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	Canadian union autonomy issue heats up in BC
1982-01Jan-fwd-47	Canada fronts for US war machine (in Central America)
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	Cross-country with the NDP—Alberta protest
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	Ontario NDP crisis debated – 'The Next Four Years'
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	Oh Canada—the furor over Ottawa's Petrocan
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	CLC backs UAW autoworkers (resisting US union HQ)
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	Dowson case moves to Supreme Court
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	McDonald probe indicts RCMP
*1982-Jan-fwd-47	RCMP amasses files on 800,000 citizens
*1982-02Feb-1	Telos: Polish crisis: ‘’We are all hostages’’ by Adam Michnik
*1982-02Feb-2	Telos: ‘’How to get out of dead-end situation’’ by Jacek Kuron
*1982-03Mar	Solidarnosc Information Bulletin No. 1 Situation in Poland (8p)
*1982-04Apr	Solidarnosc Information Bulletin No. 2 – 1st. Conference (16pp)
1982-05May9	Flyer: An appeal to Canadians from Solidarnosc
1982-06June00	“Declaration to the Polish Workers” from Soviet dissidents
1982-06June 14	Photo: Pro-Palestinians against Israeli Lebanon invasion

1982-06June99a RD: “Dave T. Contrib.: 1945 CCF leader: RCMP=Gestapo

*1982-Summer Polish Women and the Polish Revolution (5pp article on file)

1982-07Sum-fwd-48 US corporation flim flams FIRA in takeover

*1982-Summer-fwd- Out of NATO and NORAD! Defuse nuclear war

*1982-Summer-fwd Build the NDP as the Canadian antiwar party

1982-07Sum-fwd-48 Meaning of NDP defeat (Saskatchewan)

1982-07Sum-fwd-48 (NDP) Leader's industrial strategy fails to meet challenge

*1982-Summer-fwd Oh Canada—47 foreign banks granted charters

1982-07Sum-fwd-48 Canadian Solidarity committees work out problems

*1982-Summer-fwd Dowson suit against RCMP goes to UN court

*1982-Summer-fwd Suit against RCMP needs your support

*1982-Summer-fwd (Ontario) Law Union indicts Solicitor-General

*1982-Summer-fwd Smear of Parti Québécois leads to mistrial

*1982-Summer-fwd Cross-country with the NDP- Left Caucus evaluation

*1982-Summer-fwd El Salvador struggle—Inside a guerrilla camp (on file)

*1982-Summer-fwd Critique of book on socialist history (review of Angus)

1982-11Nov3 Flyer: An open letter from *Solidarity* to the left

1983

1983-02Feb23a Solidarnosc: A series of discussions: 6 noon-hour, U. of T.

1983-02Feb23d Solidarity with Solidarnosc: «We the Undersigned...»

1983-02Feb25 Baluka must be freed (from *Labor Focus on E. Europe*)

1983-03Mar5a (top) Stop the Show-Trials in Poland! Appeal & Endorsers

1983-03Mar5b (bottom) Appeal (continued) & Signatory coupon

1983-03Mar5c	(top) 13 Polish Solidarity Leaders Face Death Sentence
1883-03Mar5d	(bottom) Campaign to Stop the Show Trials, Etobicoke ON
1983-03Mar5e	Halte au procès truqué en Pologne! Texte d'une Appel
1983-03Mar5f	« Si les autorites polonais persistent...»
1983-03Mar5g	Sauvons Edmund Baluka! Pour l'arrêt des procés!
*1983-03March	(found in 1983, on file) Organizational notes by R.D.
1983-03Mar17a	Press Release from Solidarity Support Ctte., Solidarnosc
1983-03Mar17b	Minutes of Trade Union Cttee of Toronto Solidarity Cttee.
*1983-Mar24	NDP Antiwar Cttee circular for Metro Conference)
1983-Apr00	**NDP Anti-War Newsletter** Vol. 1 No. 1 (8 pp)
1983-04Apr2a	Solidarity Support Cttee. Campaign to stop Show Trials
1983-04Apr2b	Campaign to send lawyers delegation to Poland
1983-April 23	ACT flyer: demonstrate Queen's Pk against Cruise testing
1983-05May9b	Text of May Day solidarity note (edited by R.D. For Cttee.)
1983-06Jun-fwd	Trudeau flouts (US missile) Cruise protests
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	US (S teel) union brass put hold on Hamilton local
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Go Left urges NDP Caucus—Caucus hits expulsons
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Ontario Steel union exposes police-regulated spies
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Protest Orwellian 1984 police bill (RD)
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Making a union work for us—Stan Grey, militant unionist (file)
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Honduran front formed to lead peoples' (guerrilla) war (on file)
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Unfurl socialist flag – back to the party's 1933 roots
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Dowson suit (v. RCMP) before Federal Supreme Court

*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Supporters make case for aid to defence fund (RCMP
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Government closes books to cover rôle of RCMP
1983-06Jun-fwd-49	Freestanding (abortion) clinic open (Photo Rebick)
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Hail Marx Centenary – Hundreds gather in Winnipeg
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Is the Canadian Left coming together? (Winnipeg rally)
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Profane day of labor unity—Polish Solidarnosc
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	13 Polish Solidarity leaders face death sentence **(see Mar. 5)**
*1983-Jun-fwd-49	Stop the Show-Trials in Poland!
*1983-July00	**NDP Anti-War Newsletter** Vol. 1 No. 2
*1983-Nov00	NDP Antiwar Cttee flyer – Membership meeting
*1983-Nov-2	**NDP Antiwar Newsletter** Vol.1 No. 3
1983-11Nov26a	Dale Ritch nominated as candidate for provincial NDP
1983-12Dec15a	Obituary: Feminist Pat Schulz, 49
1983-12Dec15b	Flyer: Pat Schulz Memorial Fund
1983-99-1a	Undated, unpublished article on ‘’Quality of Working Life’’
1983-99-1c	(end) Labor leaders heeding case studies should resign now
1983-99-2a	Undated, unpublished article on Glace Bay miners (NS)
1983-99-3a	Undated, unpublished article ‘’Mulroney’’ takes power

1984

*1984-Feb00	'NDP & the Antiwar Movement' (report), Cruise protest
1984-03Mar12a	Free the Armenian Activists!
1984-03Mar12c	What is the Armenian Question -- Who are the 'four'?

1984-03Mar12d	What the Judge said; Committee in Defence
1984-03Mar25	ONDP L.C.: «NDP as Canada's Anti-war Party» meeting
*1984-Mar99	**NDP Antiwar Newsletter** 'What electoral choice'
1984-03Mar-fwd	Join the Peace Petition Campaign
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	(Petition) Policy discussion at Winnipeg rally
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	Tribute to Pat Schulz-comrade, women's activist
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	Dropping the pilot, the Trudeau Years---NDP attacked
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	What's next (for the NDP) in BC anti-Socred right?
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	Cross-country with the NDP— Laxer urges right swing
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	'None is too many' exposes Ottawa anti-semitic policy (on file)
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	RCMP still harassing trade union movement
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	Courts cover up police spies
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	(Dowson v RCMP) Defence Fund Appeal big bounce
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	RCMP loses appeal—Dowson suit proceeds
1984-03Mar-fwd-50	Women leading fight over plant closure—Left Caucus
*1984-Mar-fwd-50	Polish unionists build underground (Solidarnosc) (on file)
*1984-Apr00	TDN flyer—Join the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign
1984-04Apr8a	Public Forum Protest frame-up trials of Solidarnosc
1984-04Apr16a	SRDF: ”Secret police bill in critical stage”
1984-06June8a	Flyer: ‘’Beat back McCarthyite (union) Purge!’’ (Spartacus’ *Workers Vanguard* meeting: RD at table, looking at speaker)
*1984-June98	NDP Antiwar Cttee—support Peace Petition Caravan
*1984-June99	NDP Antiwar Cttee Report (3 pp) – Review of 2 years

*1984-Sept00	**NDP Antiwar Newsletter—**Broadbent warns
*1984-09Sept28	Solidarnosc News Program of the independent trade union, adopted by the 1st National (Polish) Congress of Delegations, Gdansk, Oct, 1981 (Dowson archives, Box 49, Ottawa)
1984-11Nov-1a	Programmatic declaration by Prov.Coord.Cttee. Solidarnosc
1984-11Nov-fwd-51	NDP leadership for revision of policy (RD)
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	ONDP Left Caucus faces new challengea
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	Security Service clamped on, all-out NDP fight
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	Premier funding separate schools, unhinging schools (file)
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	Mulroney entraps Lewis as Tory Govt's UN ambassador
1984-11Nov-fwd-51	ONDP supports Morgentaler – Case report
1984-11Nov-fwd-51	Across Canada with the NDP – US steps up Cruise testing
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	RCMP continues to block Dowson
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	Canadian Autoworkers buck US leadership pattern
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	US hands off Nicaragua! (Editorial)
1984-11Nov-fwd-51	Inside report on Nicaragua from Spadina NDP bulletin
*1984-Nov-fwd-51	Both Israel & Palestine resistance in crisis (H. Kopyto) (file)

(End of journal Forward—see NDP Left Caucus Newsletter below

Make it count, Vote NDP

forward
FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM
Vol. 6 No. 1 [40] ISSN 0700-9038 February 1980 Toronto 25 Cents

Libs-Tories same, need basic change

by the Editors

After six years of existence, **Forward**, an independent publication of a group of socialist activists in the NDP, looks back proudly on its continued record of solid support for the party in election after election. We have always appreciated that the NDP is a party of a fundamentally different character from the two old-line parties. Its links with the labor movement through affiliations with trade unions have placed it in class opposition to the big business politics of the Liberals and Tories—both of which stand increasingly exposed as partisans of the same policies designed to serve corporate interest.

As a labor party, the NDP represents the hopes and aspirations of working people throughout Canada—their desire to place social need above the profit motive, to wrest control of the heights of key sectors of our economy, owned largely by U.S. capitalist interests, and turn it to the public domain. The NDP represents the only serious political alternative for those who wish to support a party that fights for peace and disarmament, who wish to disentangle Canada from NATO and NORAD, who respect the rights of the Québécois to negotiate with English Canada as a sovereign state, who stand for women's rights and for full trade union rights.

With the experience of the Liberals and Tories back to back, and with continued unemployment and inflation eating away at the hard-fought gains of many workers, the opportunity for the NDP to popularize its program, to identify with the struggles of working people, has seldom been greater. The urgent economic situation has clearly opened the possibility for a dynamic hard-hitting campaign, much like the Lewis "corporate welfare bums" campaign, to establish the NDP nationally. With the Liberals saddled with a has-been leader and neither big business party having a national base, it could be said that the NDP could have dramatic possibilities for electoral gain in the current campaign.

However, in a campaign strategy which must be shocking to many party activists, the Broadbent leadership of the party has decided to run an image-oriented, me-too campaign, a campaign whose very purpose is to blur, not to emphasize, the differences between the NDP and other parties. To this end, Broadbent has completely underwritten Carter's renewal of cold war hysteria—even threatening war—around Afghanistan. He has effectively dumped the party program for getting out of NATO and NORAD. He has made a key theme of the campaign the NDP's support for "a vigorous private sector," has repudiated opposition to multinationals as such, and has even stated that the NDP would not hesitate to pass back-to-work legislation to stop "disruptive strikes."

The so-called "winning formula" that Broadbent is implementing can only harm the party, especially as the Liberals zero in on NDP

→p2

Carter sets aflame cold war hysteria

by Ross Dowson

Carter, in his campaign for re-election as the Big Business Democratic Party's president of the United States, is attempting to parley the USSR's troop movement into Afghanistan from a condemnation in the United Nations by 104 votes for, to 18 against (with 18 abstaining) into (1) a colossal escalation of the arms drive by all NATO allies, including Canada, which will result in the refueling of inflation and higher interest rates, (2) the extension, through the declaration of the Carter Doctrine, as areas of direct security concern to her NATO allies, including Canada, to not just Western Europe, but the Middle East, Israel, and now countries on the distant Persian Gulf, (3) a technological and strategic goods trade embargo (including food) against the USSR by the NATO allies whose economies are slipping into an economic depression, and (4) a world boycott of this year's Olympic Games scheduled for Moscow.

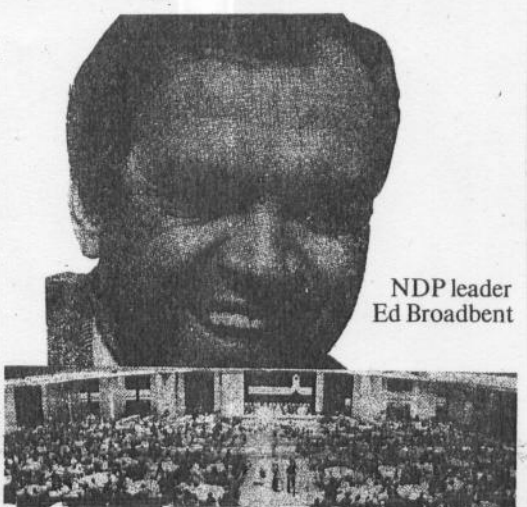
This heating up of the frightening cold war of the Fifties is striking fear of a hot, nuclear war amongst the peoples of the entire globe. It is provoking nervous responses from many heads of governments in alliance with the U.S. Some aspects of the drive are so far-out that they are already bogging down.

But in their campaigns for political office, both Clark, and his PC party, and Trudeau, and his Liberal party, have latched onto this drive, each trying to outdo the other and even Carter himself, as cold war warriors.

With the support of the Tories, the Liberals laid down all the ground work for last month's imposition on Europe of a $5 billion program to re-equip NATO forces with 572 U.S.-built nuclear armed Pershing and cruise missiles, capable of reaching into the USSR, despite the opposition of the Dutch parliament and the two socialist parties in the Belgian five-party coalition government. NATO members have promised to increase their already vast spending by 3% a year over the next period.

Today, Clark, contrasting his sorry position as compared to Carter's, is accusing the Liberals and NDP, who rejected his budget and brought on the election, of playing politics with the future of Canada, of "leaving this nation without a parliament as

continued on page 2



NDP leader Ed Broadbent

Disturbed by the NDP leader's repeated indentification with U.S. President Carter's escalation of the cold war, behind which Clark and Trudeau are beating the drums, NDP MP Pauline Jewett protests; if Ed Broadbent is backing the Carter stand "then he is not speaking for me, the caucus or the party... We do not support military action or sabre rattling. Our emphasis is, and must continue to be disarmament because it is madness to have any other emphasis."

Pauline Jewett, NDP MP (New Westminster-Coquitlam) broke from the Liberal Party over its imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970. She is the NDP shadow cabinet Minister of External Affairs, women's issues and Canadian economic independence. She has served as president of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women and director of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

Protest the jailing of postal leader Parrot

by Paul Kane

The Supreme Court of Canada has ruled on postal worker leader Jean-Claude Parrot's appeal of his three-month jail sentence for defying the parliamentary order that forced the postal workers back to work. The court has disallowed his appeal and the leader of the militant Canadian Union of Postal Workers is now languishing behind prison bars.

The jailing of Parrot marks a significant turn in the years-long campaign of the Liberal and Tory servants of Big Business interests, through government power in Ottawa, to housebreak and smash the postal workers union and to intimidate and discipline the newly organizing public service workers. The fact that Parrot, one of a new breed of principled and courageous working class spokespersons, has been thrust in jail with scarcely a murmur of protest from the official leadership of the powerful forces of the organized labor movement, is indeed a sad commentary on this leadership.

Commenting on the current situation just a matter of weeks before the court ruling, Parrot said: "There are two tendencies within the labor movement. According to one, the general climate is anti-union, so we have to play it cool and look moderate and responsible. That comes

continued on page 6

Jean-Claude Parrot sentenced to jail

Intl labor comes to aid of Bell strikers

by Jean Laplante

The hands of communication workers in 87 countries across the world are stretching out in solidarity with the 7,400 striking telephone operators and cafeteria workers who are mounting picket lines in the icy cold at major Bell operations in Ontario and Quebec.

The ban on all scab-management placed calls from Ontario and Quebec went into effect following an appeal of support for the Canadian unionists by the Geneva, Switzerland based Postal, Telephone and Telegraph International, representing four million members.

A Bell manager, scab-operating long distance calls, told the press that operators involved in calls to France, England and the U.S. are refusing all scab calls: "If we tell them that the call is from Toronto, they hang up."

Bell is paying these managers their regular rate for the first 7½ hours and $24 an hour in overtime rates for the balance of a ten-hour shift. The operators and cafeteria workers struck on January 21, when Bell turned down the union's proposal that the basis of a settlement be a recommendation of government conciliator Roland Tremblay that Bell grant a three-year contract with wage increases of 15.9% retroactive to November 25, 1978—12.2% on November 25, 1979, and 9% on November 25, 1980. The workers have had no increase since Novem-

continued on page 2

Inside This Issue

No to Chrysler...p. 3
Ryan's option.. p.5
Afghanistan ... p.7

forward #40

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from *FORWARD* may be reprinted without fee as long as *FORWARD* is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to: Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5C 2K1.

P. 2

territory in an attempt to cash in on the opposition sentiment against the Tories.

Certainly it will not inspire those tens of thousands of workers who don't bother to vote because they are offered no perspective. It will not help the party in Quebec where the party's blind loyalty to the federal institutions of the Canadian state have cut it off effectively from the hundreds of thousands of Québécois voters infused with a profound nationalistic spirit. It will not help the party to establish a firm, clear image as a party of working people among the more than two million trade union members who are locked in a day-to-day struggle against Canadian, largely U.S.-dominated corporate interests.

Our support for the NDP is unconditional, given its role as the political arm of labor representing independent opposition to the parties of big business. Our support for the party is not determined by what those who happen to be the leaders of the party at any particular time have to say, but by its essential social significance. We continue to urge all partisans of workers' struggles and socialism to join the NDP, to shape it, to win it to socialism and to elect NDP governments federally, provincially and municipally. While we continue to back the

continued on page 2

Basic change needed

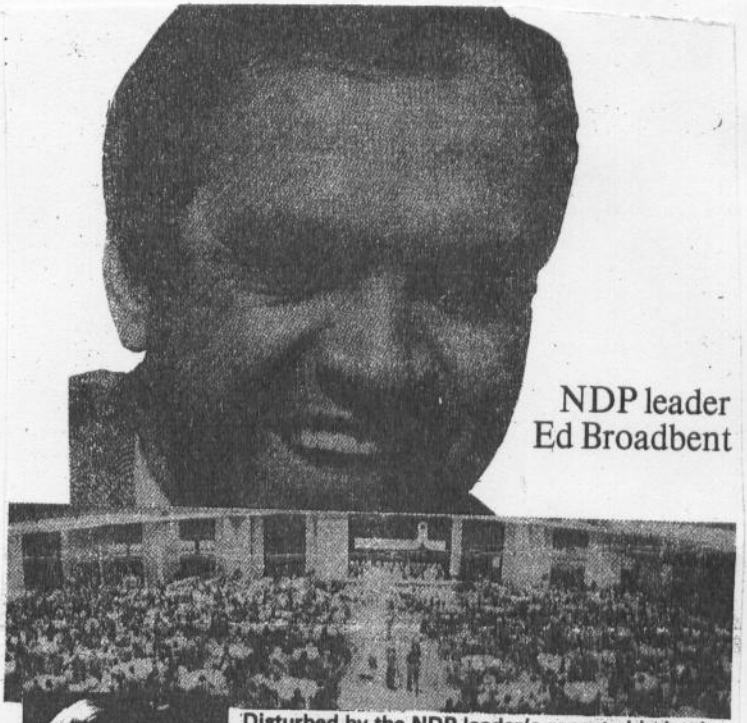
continued from page 1

party 100% in the current election, we must raise an alarm at the game that the leadership of the party is engaged in.

It is commonplace to hear the party establishment talk about how "Ed" is much more popular than the party, as if to imply that, but for the party itself, Broadbent would be swept into power.

We disagree; Ed Broadbent is only our leader. Without the party, he is nothing. By dumping the party program on key issues, by retreating on the party's long-standing opposition to NATO, NORAD, the U.S. capitalists' war drive and other issues, it is the party that is being compromised and held back by the leadership. Of course it is regrettable that Broadbent and the federal leadership's actions have thrust this dispute up in the midst of an election campaign where opponents of the party may hope mistakenly to use it against the party.

Some of the main configurations of the differences were revealed in the November federal convention where a considerable number of delegates formed a left caucus in order to bring clarity to the situation. Unfortunately the challenge of the election and the need to employ all our strength in this effort halted this process. It must now once again get underway. In this issue we have published two contributions that deal with some of the underlying factors in the present dispute—from MPP Jan Dukszta and from MPP Floyd Laughren and others. We think they well help to raise the level of the dispute that has now been brought to the fore for discussion.



NDP leader Ed Broadbent

Disturbed by the NDP leader's repeated indentification with U.S. President Carter's escalation of the cold war, behind which Clark and Trudeau are beating the drums, NDP MP Pauline Jewett protests; if Ed Broadbent is backing the Carter stand "then he is not speaking for me, the caucus or the party... We do not support military action or sabre rattling. Our emphasis is, and must continue to be disarmament because it is madness to have any other emphasis."

Pauline Jewett, NDP MP [New Westminster-Coquitlam] broke from the Liberal Party over its imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970. She is the NDP shadow cabinet Minister of External Affairs, women's issues and Canadian economic independence. She has served as president of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women and director of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

forward #40 Feb 1980

Campaign for equal wages for women

Organized Working Women and OFL women's committee have mobilized cross-union support for Radio Shack and Blue Cross strikers.

by Wayne Roberts

In a recently released publication, **Equal Partners for Change: Women and Unions**, the Women's Bureau of the Canadian Labor Congress, established in 1977 to oversee union action programs in the area of women's rights, puts equal pay for work of equal value and equal opportunity at the head of the bargaining agenda. Both ideas will require important changes in the way unions approach new contracts.

By embracing "equal pay for work of equal value," the Women's Bureau brochure in effect encourages unions to adopt a scheme now practiced almost exclusively by the United Steelworkers—the co-operative wage study program (CWS). Under CWS, all aspects of a job, from skill level to physical discomfort, are included in a job rating, and any obviously discriminatory ranking is eliminated. Although this enlarged role for collective bargaining is now practiced by only a small minority of unions, the Bureau seems to be steering all unions in that direction.

Equal opportunity is given the same high status as equal pay by the brochure's authors. Again, new directions in bargaining will be required. "Historically unions have not had much say in hiring, promotions and training procedures," it is admitted. "However unions are recognizing the need to establish affirmative action plans through collective bargaining."

The Bureau brochure does not advise letting up on fringe benefits (pensions, etc.) in order to make way for these changes. On the contrary, new fringe benefits will be promoted "to equalize the total wage package for women." Daycare receives special attention, and the option is presented of on-site facilities or employer subsidies to neighborhood daycare centers.

The brochure also takes up the issue of sexual harassment, referred to as "the most common and least discussed occupational health hazard for women." The brochure advises women to deal with this problem through the union contract rather than by relying on government bodies.

This suspicion of government bodies is part of a growing awareness that organizations like Human Rights Commissions are too slow, too subject to government control, too reliant on one person's airtight case and courage, too oriented to making backroom compromises rather than establishing firm rules.

Legislation to date, as even Ontario cabinet minister Robert Welch admitted to an equal pay and opportunity conference in 1978, is "obviously not effective in eliminating the so-called job ghettoes." The ratio of women's pay to men's (approximately 60%) remains as it was—in fact it is slightly worse than it was—in the 1960s, largely because of technicalities surrounding the meaning of "equal pay for equal work," and because of the inadequacies of an individualistic court system to remedy a general social problem.

Nevertheless, the battle for improved legislation is a crucial aspect of winning equal pay. Without strong legislation, equal pay demands are always subject to the pressure of being "traded off" in negotiations.

In Ontario, a private member's bill for equal pay for work of equal value, sponsored by Windsor NDP MPP Ted Bounsall, has been approved in principle. Hearings this month have heard hostile briefs from business organizations and favorable briefs from women's and labor organizations.

It remains to be seen how effectively the labor movement will mobilize to see that this bill does not die.

Working Women support NDP equal pay bill

A letter from the Toronto Board of Trade was introduced at the Ontario Legislative hearing of public briefs on the question of equal pay for work of equal value, during the questioning of Lois Bédard, who presented a brief to the January 24th sessions on behalf of Organized Working Women.

Characterized as a veiled threat by one of the MLAs in attendance, the Board's letter warned that thousands of small business owners, if forced to pay decent wages to women empoyees, would replace them with machines, and thereby add to the ranks of the unemployed. Ms. Bédard ridiculed the Board's "concern" about unemployment. The employers don't hire women unless it suits their purpose. They always have and will continue to introduce machinery to keep their labor force, both male and female, to the minimum, she said.

The hearings on Bill 3, an amendment to the Employment Standards Act, presented as a private members bill by NDP MLA Ted Bounsall, are attended by Liberal and Tory MLAs who have the majority to pass the bill into law. Bédard, who had read the OWW's seven-page brief to the committee, urged them to get on with it and pass the amendment that is long overdue. She emphasized its summary words that come from the minutes of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of 1890—almost 100 years ago—scoring the manipulation of female labor "as a means of repressing the price of labor in general" and insisting "that employers of labor be urged to pay the woman the same wages as the man for the same class of work properly done."

The OWW is an organization of working women covered by a bona fide collective bargaining unit with the aim of uniting women as women and as unionists to work for the improvement of the condition of women, and thus to strenghthen the organized labor movement. Copies of the OWW brief can be obtained free from Organized Working Women, 15 Gervais Drive, Suite 301, Don Mills, Ont. M3C 1Y8.

forward #40 Feb 1980

Cure for PQ option 'worse than disease'

Ryan's proposals win some praise now, in hope that he can defeat PQ option

by John Darling

The federalist campaign for a "no" vote in the coming PQ referendum has labored and brought forth a constitutional monstrosity—a cure for the ills of confederation that even many federalists see as worse than the independentist disease.

A New Canadian Federation, the document presented by Quebec Liberal leader Ryan as the answer to the PQ's White Paper on sovereignty-association, seems to plead guilty to Lévesque's charge that in order to satisfy Quebec's demands, Canadian confederation must be emasculated, and left useless for English Canada.

Ryan begins by abandoning previously held convictions that Quebec constitutes a nation worthy of a "special status" within confederation. Instead, he proposes that the federal government give up the lion's share of its social and economic powers to all ten provinces. Ottawa's role, we are told, would be to "manage the economic union...ensure smooth operation of national policies...ensure a reasonable redistribution of wealth...and act in the name of the whole country in the pursuit of peace and national security." In this almost poetic situation, the federal government would no longer be "senior"—but one of "two orders of government, each being sovereign within its jurisdiction, (and) equal in law."

Overshadowing this interplay of sovereign entities is the sobering advice that Ottawa retain all its present powers of taxation— and with these, the **de facto** clout it now wields over the provinces in areas well beyond its formal jurisdiction. (Recall the complaint of the PQ's White Paper that Ottawa's keenly felt presence in Quebec is no doubt in part because it spends more money on cultural affairs than the Quebec government.)

But this decentralization upset many federalists, including the editors of the Toronto **Star**. They thought that conceding these powers to Quebec was dangerous—if Ottawa's role became merely that of distant tax collector, it would appear more irrelevant than ever and "even those Quebeckers who now oppose separatism might well decide it was only logical to cut the remaining ties."

Echoing the recent Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity, Ryan also proposes to abolish the Senate, and meekly suggests that the royalty might be caused to disappear in the future. A Federal Council is to take their place, appointed directly by the provincial governments, and is to have veto power over Ottawa. A distinct lack of enthusiasm in English Canada to this idea dismayed the Ryan camp. The Quebec press, prompting a better response, said "the ball is in your court, Canada"—but the enemies of the PQ haven't volleyed it back yet, because although the Senate as a big business permanent lobby has become generally discredited, the Federal Council seems inappropriate to big business, and irrelevant to labor and the left. But Ryan defended the Federal Council as a central "pylon" in the new structures of Canadian confederation when an Alberta government official pooh-poohed the idea.

Fellow Liberals gave Ryan faint praise. In Ottawa, a federal colleague, ex-cabinet minister Chrétien declared darkly: "Once he's elected premier," (and defused the crisis by ridding us of the PQ), "and explains why he thinks certain powers should be transferred to the provinces, we'll tell him why we're opposed. If his argument is better than ours, he'll win" (we'll be forced to make some concessions). Liberal Senator Forsey, on the other hand, simply called his ideas "a proposal for flaying Canada, and carving up the corpse."

The Parti Québécois was quick to respond to Ryan's renewed federalism. Lévesque denounced the idea of the Federal Council, pointing out that Quebec would be in a weaker position than ever, since with even a guaranteed 25% of seats, it would be powerless to stop a two-thirds decision by English Canadian delegates.

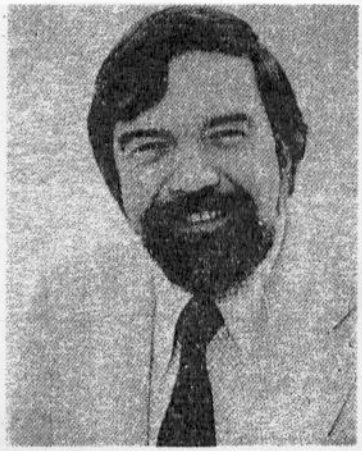
Lévesque also ridiculed Ryan's "la vie en rose" approach to the birth and development of confederation—and his boasting that the headquarters of both the CNR and Air Canada are located in Quebec. The PQ leader pointed out that the 400 other federal companies are virtually absent from Quebec, and that the James Bay hydro project, for one, was financed with no help from Ottawa. He pointed to Quebec's lower-than-average wages, and described Canada as "a sick country...(which has) institutionalized one of the highest rates of unemployment in the developed countries, and whose standard of living has slipped for more than ten years."

Lévesque rejected Ryan's proposals for anglophone-francophone "dual committees" in the Federal Council, supposedly to protect Quebec's cultural and linguistic interests, and particularly the concept of a Bill of Rights in a new constitution, which would protect Quebec's "culture and liberty"—as if Bill 101's attempt to create a French Quebec was in violation of the rights of minorities in Quebec.

Jumping in where federalist angels fear to tread was Ed Broadbent, praising the Ryan position "because it deals precisely in the context of a federal Canada." In spite of the fact he has usually advocated a stronger federal government for purposes of economic planning, he is committing the NDP to a renewed federal structure that even many Liberals and Tories see as unworkable and clumsy.

For without a commitment of support from federalist forces across the country, Ryan's "New Confederation" policy is nothing but a constitutional fraud—a carrot on a stick before the Québécois, which if nibbled at, will hopefully save confederation, and if swallowed whole, will prove to be indigestible anyway.

forward #40 Feb 1980



John Harney, NDP constitutional spokesman

NDP policy spokesman

Poses Constituent Assembly

by John Darling

While the PQ's White Paper and Ryan's federalist document have forced open the consitutional debate, lo and behold, a glimmer of light can be discerned even in NDP policy on Quebec.

An NDP working group headed by John Harney was appointed at the last federal convention to develop a federalist constitution for the party. But, judging from a report of his statements in Montreal's **Le Devoir**, Harney apparently found this such an impossible task that he has revived the idea of a constituent assembly, "a power that goes beyond Parliament in order to make fundamental changes...a mass-based power ('une souveraineté des peuples')." This assembly, to be composed of ordinary people and represented by all groups, including women, youth and the aged, would submit its constitutional proposals to a pan-Canadian referendum after two or three years' deliberation. An absolute majority would be required from Quebec in order for it to be valid. Quebec is seen as becoming the home base ('chef-lieu') of francophones, who no matter where they live in Canada, could pay taxes directly to it as "members" of Quebec.

Harney, although he recognizes the existence of "two nations," proposes the constituent assembly in the context of Quebec remaining within confederation. Unfortunately for his proposal, Quebec is probably about to become "the nation of the Québécois" instead, enjoying not "a special status," but the unique status of a politically independent entity.

Harney's work on the constituent assembly concept, which he envisions as "implicating the people," is a preliminary step in the right direction. It is significant that in order to come up with a practical answer, he had to junk the convention mandate for a "federalist" constitution and come up with an idea that completely bypasses the federal state as we know it.

Ironically, this brings Harney back to the position which he and fellow members of the Committee for a New Constitution initiated almost three years ago.

Quebec NDP candidates support yes-vote in spring referendum

The constitutional question, involving the very nature of Canada itself, notwithstanding gentlemen's agreements and silent understandings, is poking its way through the accumulated garbage thrown up during the federal election campaign.

Last fall, Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC) President Louis Laberge, in frustration, broke into his prepared address to tell the assembled delegates to the Federation convention that he thought Broadbent "has come to the conclusion that there was no hope in hell for the NDP in Quebec. Now he has made sure of it."

Only a few days earlier, the NDP federal convention had witnessed the Broadbent leadership quash the efforts of a rank and file Left Caucus to win the party to a clear commitment to recognize Quebec's elementary democratic right to self-determination. In despair and disgust, the Quebec delegate on the party's federal council walked out of the convention.

But now, responding to the irrepressible aspirations of the Quebec people, three NDP candidates in Quebec have announced they will vote YES in the coming spring referendum on sovereignty-association. They are Jean-Denis Bérubé in Lac St. Jean, Marc St -Hilaire in Chicoutimi, and Jacques Hubert in Jonquière.

This break-out will have to widen, and become more than symbolic, if the labor party is to find expression in Quebec through the NDP. It is impossible to conceive of an NDP government in Ottawa—the stated aim of the party—unless the Liberal party's base, now firm only in Quebec, is smashed. And regardless of the outcome of this spring's referendum, even should it mark a stride toward the whole new challenge of a separate Quebec, the NDP and anglophone Canadian labor will need working class allies in a sovereign Quebec.

forward #40 Feb 1980

"Flirts with bosses but . . . " says Laberge

Labor evaluates PQ

by Jean Lemire

There is "growing disappointment" in the Quebec labor movement over the Parti Québécois, said Quebec Federation of Labor president Louis Laberge at a recent convention. "This analysis is not a declaration of war against the PQ...an honest government which flirts with the bosses at the same time it legislates in the interests of the majority..." Laberge went on to criticize the government for its "vacillations and hesitations to adopt measures... which meet the promises of the government and the program of its party," such as multi-company union negotiations in common industries. "Anyway," he added, "these milieux (financiers and bosses) will never support the PQ, neither in its important policies of social reform, nor its policy of sovereignty-association. This government would best swing behind the masses, particularly the workers, who have done the most to bring it to power."

This warning could be an important factor in the success of the PQ's referendum on independence to be held late this spring. Already, 200,000 civil servants in the Common Front were ordered back to work when they threatened to strike on the eve of the three important by-elections. Although the Common Front's demands were largely met by the same Bill 62 (and even exceeded in the granting of a 20-week paid maternity leave clause), arrests were made of a number of 38,000 non-medical workers who defied the return to work order for three days. Justice Minister Bédard is prosecuting the union, amid demands from the Liberals that more charges be laid against individual strikers as well.

Meanwhile, the PQ met with defeat in the by-elections, including the East Montreal riding of Maisonneuve, a labor stronghold where their vote failed to materialize—Lévesque himself having intervened to install his own choice of candidate over a well-known unionist. Later, the PQ also lost a francophone-anglophone-immigrant riding—Outremont—by a crushing 97% to the Liberal candidate, proving his show of strength against the unions won him nothing.

Then came the PQ's Bill 88, gloves off, ordering striking Hydro-Québec workers back on the job, with stiff penalties reminiscent of the days of the Liberal anti-union regime. In what Laberge called "one of the worst bludgeon-laws in the last 10 years," a settlement was simply imposed on the union with increases barely keeping pace with inflation. Union members are liable to fines for work-to-rule—even Liberal leader Ryan was reportedly shocked by its "authoritarian" attitude, which he nevertheless supported.

Earlier, one hundred striking Hydro workers invaded a national committee meeting of the PQ, challenging the government to force Hydro-Québec to begin serious negotiations. Lévesque, displeased, complained, "How would they like it if 50 or 100 politicians rampaged over to one of their union meetings," but admitted that the PQ "has become distant from people without knowing it." Members of his cabinet, like Guy Joron, have been off urging the biggest francophone financiers to buy out Quebec companies, to enrich themselves in order that Québécois might have more say in their economy! Unfortunately, a prominent member of Quebec's "billionaire club," National Bank of Canada president Belanger, was "offended" when his bank was called a Quebec bank, and wouldn't even discuss its role as a "tool" in economic development.

The real nature of the support for independence was shown when the three major union centrales joined with the widest common front of nationalist movements seen in ten years. They denounced the Supreme Court of Canada's judgment against Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, as "ultra vires" in proclaiming French the sole official language in Quebec parliament and courts. The front also called upon the Quebec Court of Appeal to suspend injunctions against a law to allow nationalization of the giant Asbestos Corporation. Louise Harel, militant PQ vice-president, declared that the anti-PQ judgments put the Quebec government "in trusteeship."

Support for the PQ's legislation on

→p.2

Yvon Charbonneau hands over leadership of CEQ to Robert Gaulin. Gaulin, who was considered a moderate and pro-PQ alternative to Charbonneau, is now involved in leading a strike against PQ government.

Labor evaluates PQ

In days of Liberal regime, the PQ was regarded as a pro-labor alternative. Standing here are Robert Burns, former PQ cabinet minister, and ex-CNTU leader, Marcel Pépin, then leader of the CNTU, Fernand Daoust of QFL, René Lévesque, and Yvon Charbonneau, then leader of CEQ.

industrial health and safety—Bill 17—came from a Committee of Workers in Heavy Industry, representing 93 non-union and 28 unionized plants in East Montreal and Point aux Trembles, who congratulated the government and called for its immediate passage into law. The Bill was strengthened during second reading in the Assemblée nationale despite opposition from Conseil du Patronat (bosses' council) and the doctors' Corporation des Médecins, who objected to the proposal that union representatives be empowered not only to inspect job sites and evaluate work dangers, but jointly with management to choose doctors and medical plans for the unions involved.

Although Social Development Minister Marois extended compensation for industrial disease, maternity leaves and worker protection, the militant CNTU (Quebec-based union centrale) remained dissatisfied that the law speaks of union "abuse," and prohibits a strike in the case of workers deciding working conditions are dangerous. The provisions of the law that empowers only those workers in the endangered area to stop work was defended by QFL president Laberge, who took the CNTU to task for its "suicidal" opposition to the bill. Laberge also attacked Liberal leader Ryan for his switch to opposition.

The government's inadequate enforcement of its pro-labor legislation was taken up by petroleum workers at the struck Shell, Texaco and Petrofina refineries in Montreal. It's anti-scab law was being undercut by companies being forewarned of government-labor inspections and by injunctions limiting the size of picket lines, which were thereby incapable of assuring that trucks and vans crossing the picket line did not contain scabs.

The PQ is now faced with a strike by teachers, members of the militant CEQ, over job security and teacher-student ratios. CEQ president Gaulin decried the back-to-work bills, saying that the "democratic quality in public life is deteriorating...on most questions, in most public debates, discussion is cut short; serious consideration of differences no longer have a place. The spectrum of ideas has been narrowed to: tighten your belt, blame the unions and support federalism, or tighten your belt, blame the unions and support sovereignty-association."

Faced with the heavy federalist propaganda barrage to come, and the federalists' overwhelming financial and media clout, the PQ faces a real danger of losing the referendum on sovereignty-association unless it makes favorable union settlements a top priority. Its present course of growing confrontation with organized labor contradicts the interests of its electoral base, and can only harm the nationalist movement in Quebec.

forward #40 Feb 1980

McDonald Commission whitewashes RCMP

by Harry Kopyto

The McDonald Commission into RCMP wrongdoings ended its sessions abruptly in January, and will not be resumed until well after the election campaign.

During its last session, the commission was the subject of controversy arising out of its interim report which was released by the Conservative Government in mid-January. The report recommended greater punishment for spies, sanctified secret trials, and issued charges that Peter Treu, the Montreal engineer who was recently acquitted of spying charges after being found guilty at a secret trial, was a spy. The charges against Treu were strongly refuted by his lawyer, who attacked the commission for not giving Treu an opportunity to review the charges. In addition, he challenged the commission to produce its witnesses against his client and called the commission a "kangeroo court."

The McDonald Commission was embroiled in further controversy around the testimony of RCMP informer, Warren Hart, whose activities included bugging a federal solicitor-general. Despite RCMP objections, testimony was heard about how at the "apex" of his career, Hart was bugging conversations between Black radical Rosevelt Douglas and various politicians in 1974, including the solicitor-general of the day, Mr. Warren Allmand, who, Hart testified, was regarded by the RCMP as being "communist with leftist leanings."

It was shortly after—when the RCMP was unable to discredit Hart's testimony through cross-examination and when it appeared as if the RCMP would have to call its own witnesses—that the hearing abruptly adjourned until April.

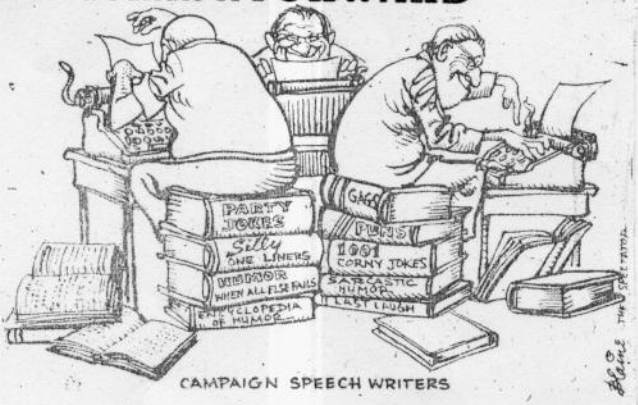
Meanwhile, the Keable Commission has had a different kind of problem with informers. The two-year-old PQ-appointed inquiry into illegal police operations revealed in December that a leading "FLQ terrorist," François Séguin, was in fact a police informer and agent of the Montreal Urban Police Force. The commission is now locked in legal battle with the police in its efforts to expose other informers masquerading as FLQ terrorists.

In contrast, the McDonald Commission has avoided challenging the RCMP as much as possible. No hearings have been held dealing with infiltration by the RCMP into the NDP, the Waffle, or the labor movement. Though its report is due in June, complaints remain uninvestigated, and the commission is perceived more and more as a whitewash.

Don't gag on their policies

Help us get out the truth

Send for a bundle of **FORWARD**



Name _____

Address _____

12 issue subscription $2.50
Bundle of 10 copies $2.00 pp.

Stamps or cheque payable to Forward Publishing Assn.
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

forward #40 Feb 1980

NDP MPP Dukszta challenges party

Must transcend reforms

Dr. Jan Dukszta, author of this challenge to NDP, takes part in protest action against fascist coup in Chile

Below is a synopsis of a speech given by Dr. Jan Dukszta, entitled "The NDP in the 1980s." Dukszta, a Member of Provincial Parliament from Parkdale Riding in Toronto, delivered the paper at an NDP conference in Guelph, Ontario last fall.

This synopsis of Dukszta's statement was distributed, along with a similar statement from NDP MPP Eduardo Disanto [reproduced in our last issue], at the NDP federal convention. Both statements are being circulated among Ontario New Democrats with a covering letter indicating that "the time has come to systematically organize a discussion which is so necessary for political clarity within the Party and to pull together the party members who support the goals elaborated in these papers... we believe that the time has come for left people to unite within the Party to initiate the discussion that is so urgently needed."

As an information service for our readers, we reprint sections of the summary statement along with quotes from the original for purposes of amplification. The full text of both statements may be obtained from the two authors at their Queen's Park offices or by writing Mary Boyce, 60 Tranby Avenue, Toronto, Ontario.

Summary of a paper entitled
THE NDP IN THE EIGHTIES

Within the party, writes Dr. Dukszta, "the ridings are the basic cells of our organism, infusing us with new ideas and providing our grass roots electoral organization. Organized labor is an essential component linking us to our most important base."

Dr. Dukszta states in his paper that of the Caucus' three themes, Health, Economy and Ethics, the Party's Secretariat has only begun to embrace the last two themes to the degree envisaged in the mandate given by the 1978 ONDP convention to emphasize industrial strategy and support in the ethnic community.

Further, Dr. Dukszta states that our electoral failure in 1971 resulted in a reassessment of the party which led it to adopt a moderate reformist image, bidding for the "centre."

However, he concludes that the strategy of being in the vanguard of reform politics, of putting a human face on capitalism, of being more caring, more humanitarian, and better managers of society than the Tories, has failed. The Tories have not only initiated many cosmetic welfare state measures, giving them the image of a caring reformist party, but have the additional advantage of providing a sense of security and stability.

The party's moderate image, Dr. Dukszta writes, is tailored to the old colonial Ontario of Rosedale, the myth of unlimited upward mobility. We have jettisoned much of our "socialist" program in order to appear safe, he argues.

While the NDP has directed its courtship in the last two elections to a shrinking traditional constituency, the transformation of the economy, from being mixed into a predominently resource extraction and service oriented economy, has developed a new urban base for the party.

Despite analysis indicating ethnicity is a strong factor in pro-NDP voter preference, our multi-culturalism policy remains rudimentary, and we have only partially begun to respond to the new political base and the special problems of ethnic workers and to express their legitimate concerns and aspirations. We must recognize that ethnics and working class people constitute the majority of our base and call for their integration into the mainstream of the party.

With respect to Ontario's economy Dr. Dukszta points out that ours is a branch plant economy characterized by natural resources exploitation, minimal secondary refinement of ores, a diminishing industrial base, manufacturing jobs being exported to the U.S., balance of payment problems, a slow-down in capital investment, and increasing unemployment.

He further points out that structurally, we have characteristics of third world countries: such as exporting primary products, importing technology, machinery and parts from American companies with increasing deficits in manufacturing trade, and two-thirds of the work force employed in both public and private service industries.

Taking a high profile on the issue of Ontario's economy in terms of foreign ownership would benefit us by pushing the Tories into defending the actual de-industrialization of Ontario and distinguishing us from the Liberals and exposing them as powerless against the multinationals.

Dr. Dukszta further states that:

"An industrial strategy to bring our economy under the control of Canadian workers is an essential undertaking, if our Party is to rise above the morass of reformism. Ultimately, welfarism, our band-aid treatment, which cannot change the society but merely takes care of the victims of capitalism, does not serve our constituents.

"Our industrial strategy and the regaining of Canadian control over our economy is also not enough. That policy, as important as it is to our Party and Ontario, becomes only a means of accomplishing the party's historic mission.

"The NDP's historic mission is to establish democratic socialism in Canada. The Regina Manifesto set out our priorities. Our tactics and programs may change but our priorities do not.

"What are the tenets of Canadian democratic socialism? Democratic socialists believe in equality beyond the false liberal ideal of equality of opportunity. They believe in widespread participation of ordinary working people in community affairs, and the power structures of their social and economic institutions. They reject the destruction of public participation which characterizes our technocratic capitalism. They believe in social control of industry. Industries ought to be managed in the interests of the working people whose labour builds them and in the broader societal interest. Democratic socialists cannot accept the notion that the best Canadians can expect is a preferential place in the hierarchy of the American colonies.

"We must also distinguish between the reformist approach by itself which ends up merely as a band-aid on the victims of capitalism, and reforms, which are an integral part of the society. Crossland's social democracy envisaged significant general societal reforms, but basically welfare-oriented reforms, including even moves towards community participation and modified workers' control, but failed to deal with the basic aims of restructuring society from the capitalist mode to the socialist one. Now this social democratic approach is seriously questioned by almost all Western social-democratic parties, especially in Great Britain.

"The NDP of Ontario is already committed to significant social control of our natural resources and it is implicit we would expand this if necessary to other major industies. This intervention would always be accompanied by meaningful public participation of the citizens of Ontario to prevent the kind of bureaucratization that has characterized such takeovers in the U.K."

forward #40 Feb 1980

Sudbury-area NDP leaders urge

A clear socialist alternative

As an information service for our readers, we reprint below excerpts from a statement "Toward Socialism in Ontario," submitted to the Ontario NDP election planning committee and to the Ontario New Democrat *by three prominent activists in the Sudbury-area NDP, including MPP Floyd Laughren. The authors stress that "the policies and direction proposed are based on existing ONDP policy. There are issues on which we believe a more farreaching program is needed but the document has restricted itself to working within the confines of our present policies as passed by convention. As such, it argues for a forceful presentation to the Ontario electorate on the basis of what we have already determined to be party policy."*

Three dots (...) indicate areas where sections have been deleted for reasons of space.

Ed. note

The Ontario economy "isn't going to the dogs after all" barks Treasury Minister Frank Miller. Meanwhile the Unemployment figures remain intolerably high and the establishment-orientated Conference Board warns that Ontario will be hit hardest as the Canadian economy grinds to a stall.

Circumstances like this put social democratic parties to the test. Two essential questions present themselves to us: (1) Do we have genuine alternatives to the policies of the old line parties? and (2) Are we prepared to state these alternatives and fight for them?...

We believe that the only strategy that makes any sense at this stage in our history is one which makes a specific appeal to working class, (and especially organized working class) voters with a tough, imaginative and socialist program that challenges the premises of the Liberal and Tory free enterprisers head on. In its place we offer a clear alternative based on public ownership of significant areas of the economy (especially resources) and economic and social planning aimed at full employment and social justice.

What is essential is that our primary resources be used as a lever for development. Only if the resource industries are brought under public ownership will it be possible to ensure that profits generated in the resource industry are reinvested in processing and manufacturing. It is by this line of reasoning that Eric Kierans (former federal Liberal cabinet minister and past president of the Montreal Stock Exchange) arrived at the case for public ownership of mines in his 1973 Manitoba report. He himself insists, "It is not a question of capitalism or socialism. It is simply searching for the better way." It is no accident that socialism is the better way...

Ontario now faces a serious crisis in the manufacturing sector as well. Some call it the "de-industrialization" of Ontario as multinationals perform less of their operations here in favor of Third World countries or sometimes in the U.S. itself. Penetration of imports into key industrial sectors has intensified. In machinery it is 71 percent; mining manufacturing, 70 percent; electric products, 30 percent; textiles, 53 percent; consumer electronics, 63 percent; and computers and office equipment, 90 percent. That's domestic demand that's met by imports.

The public sector must strongly intervene if we are to turn this situation around. Let us look at two examples: (1) Electrical products. The unions involved in the electrical products field claim that 23,000 jobs have been lost in this industry just in the last five years. In 1977 the trade deficit was almost $1 billion in this sector alone. We import $3 for every $1 that we export in electrical products. As a matter of fact, this country is the world's greatest importer per capita of heavy electrical equipment. One thinks of the large number of capital-intensive jobs, with big machinery and large electrical products required, yet here we are importing them instead of meeting our needs domestically...

Both the federal and provincial Tories are engaged in a determined assault on the public sector through cutting back government services (health, education and day care, etc.), making the tax base more regressive, imposing user fees in health care, and squeezing the wages of workers in the public sector. This situation poses serious difficulties for our party. In the first place opposing cutbacks and reshuffling priorities is not enough. We have to be able to pay for social services; this can't be done from a disintegrating tax base and tax reform is only half an answer. Thus, it is absolutely necessary to advance a socialist alternative in economic planning in order to allow an alternative in social services.

We must struggle for further advances in social welfare policies as well as protecting what is presently in place. Denticare and replacement of the infamous WCB by a universal insurance system (as in New Zealand) come immediately to mind. Furthermore the NDP must continue to strongly promote a restructuring of priorities in the social policy field.

Floyd Laughren, MPP, calls for socialist alternative

The party's initiatives in presenting community and preventative health care is an area that must be continually developed.

But we have to understand clearly that further extensions of social welfare policies must come to grips with the present economic crisis. For one thing the existing tax base cannot support more programs and the only solution is government planning of investment to broaden the industrial base. As we have argued this implies a great deal more public ownership—especially in the primary resource sector. A buoyant economy led by the public sector would produce the tax revenue needed to solve a lot of other problems like the decline in health services and the financial bind of the school system. Social policies without a fundamental restructuring of the Ontario economy is merely to treat symptoms while ignoring causes. It is to fight a losing battle for "Capitalism with a human face."

Much of this analysis and program will go for naught if we are not able to reach our most natural constituency—the working class. As for the trade union movement, we would say that to be in the least defensive about the relationship with the most important instrument for the advancement of working class interests in Ontario would be the ultimate folly. We must loudly support workers' right to unionize by ensuring compulsory dues checkoff be available to all certified unions and the outlawing of strikebreakers. For non-unionized workers, especially, the NDP must promote a minimum wage that allows all workers to live in security and dignity...

We must not jettison our socialist program in order to appear safe. There are those within the party who constantly claim that we should moderate our economic policies, that we should not identify too closely with the unions, that we should not appear to be too different, and one day we will slip up the middle and form a government with 35 percent of the vote. Such is not our opinion or desire.

Only by taking a clear-cut stance on economic issues, only by effectively mobilizing our working class base, only by establishing the essential differences between ourselves and the other parties will it be possible for us to become the clear alternative to the Tory government. We need economic strategy based on the public control of our resources. Only then can we diversify into more labour intensive manufacturing industries. Only then will we be able to extract the real wealth from our resources.

The NDP stands alone as a political party in a fight to create meaningful jobs for Ontario workers, and socialism stands alone as a political perspective capable of developing the necessary policy. Socialism is an idea whose time has come. **The NDP is the vehicle.**

Simon Rosenblum, editor, Nickel Belt New Democrat
Cameron Hopkins, president, Nickel Belt NDP
Floyd Laughren, MPP, Nickel Belt

forward #40 Feb 1980

Spotlight on
from the Saskatchewan NDP's Commonwealth
LABOUR HISTORY
UNION RECOGNITION
STRIKE
THE ROLE OF THE RCMP IN LABOUR MATTERS IS EXEMPLIFIED BY THEIR PERFORMANCE ON SEPT. 29TH, 1931 IN ESTEVAN, SASKATCHEWAN. DURING A STRIKE FOR UNION RECOGNITION, MINERS WITH THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN HELD A PEACEFUL MARCH. SUDDENLY THE RCMP OPENED FIRE...SHOOTING POINT BLANK INTO THE RANKS!
3 MINERS WERE KILLED, 40 WOUNDED 2 DIED LATER IN HOSPITAL. "MURDERED BY THE RCMP" WAS INSCRIBED ON THE TOMBSTONES. LATER THE AUTHORITIES HAD THE WORDS REMOVED BUT NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE RCMP AND THE WORKING CLASS WHICH REMAINS THE SAME NOW AS IT WAS ON THAT INFAMOUS DAY IN ESTEVAN.
from Sask. Commonwealth

Sask. unionists query support of NDP as labor's own party

by P. Kent

The Saskatchewan unionists who presented a militant program and slate of candidates in opposition to the administration at last fall's Saskatchewan Federation of Labor convention have decided to sustain their caucus on a continuing basis.

Bud Massey, chairman of this Trade Union Group and president of the Saskatchewan region of the International Woodworkers of America, says their main goal is to make the SFL "more responsive to the needs of the affiliates which make up the Federation." He describes TUG as a "pressure group" to make sure the SFL executive carries out the policies and wishes of its 60,000 affiliated members.

However, the rotten strikebreaking stance of the Blakeney NDP government against the Saskatchewan Government Employees Association, and the Federation brass' whitewash of Blakeney, has posed a critical challenge to TUG. While TUG has decided to put up a sustained fight inside the union federation against its leadership, with a counter program and alternative officers, forces within it are urging that the NDP, which has been built over the years as labor's political arm, be conceded in advance without a fight to the federation brass and the Blakeney leadership.

At a time when it is becoming increasingly clear to wider layers of workers that trade union struggles are ever more rapidly taking on political dimensions, TUG is advocating that labor's stance be "free of close ties with any political party or group." This of course means, since we assume it has none with the Liberals or Tories, "free of close relations" with the NDP.

It is difficult to understand how such a stance would increase or heighten the trade union movement's ability to say to those who head up the boss party machines and the leadership of the NDP that "we disagree with what they are doing and we are going to fight them because of it," as claims Larry Brown, chief executive officer of the Saskatchewan Government Employees Association who was provisionally posed as TUG's candidate for SFL president. In what way does principled support of the NDP block unionists' ability to voice their criticisms of current NDP policies and the role of its present leadership? And since such criticism must be made, where else can it be better made with the possibility of achieving its aim, than in the NDP itself?

The obvious fact of the matter is that TUG, even now, has the makings of an effective caucus right inside the Saskatchewan NDP itself, which is certainly one of the most open sections of the party with a long history of rank and file dissident opposition. For TUG to dismiss out of hand the fight for a militant program and leadership in the NDP, which is a power base of Blakeney and his SFL cohorts, while on the other hand fighting to win the majority of unionists, many of whom are NDP members, are active in it and will continue to vote for it whatever its leadership as there is no real alternative—such a policy is to undermine the possibilities of TUG's success within the federation itself and the Canadian Labor Congress.

NDP MPP was in Afghanistan

NDP MPP Mac Makarchuk from Brantford, Ontario spent one week in Afghanistan attending an international peace conference last summer, before the Soviet intervention. In an interview in the October 1, 1979 **Canadian Tribune**, he described Afghanistan under the PDPA government.

He stated his belief that the government's reforms were progressive and popular: "The government divided the land among the peasants who worked it. The other thing that was done...is that loans taken before 1970 are non-repayable, loans taken between 1970 and 1973 were repayable at 10% of the total loan and so on on a sliding scale. Also the interest rate on loans is only 3%".

"In general, I found Afghanistan to be a country trying to move from feudalism into the 20th century," he concluded.

According to Makarchuk: 11 million peasants have received land; the banks are state-owned; trade is both east and west; medical services are being upgraded. "They've also nationalized the importing companies...which once had a monopoly... Shops are still privately owned and farming co-ops are encouraged. They're building schools..." in a country with more than 90% illiteracy.

Makarchuk strongly denounced the opponents of the regime. "The rebels are a combination of Moslem fanatics . . . and dispossessed landowners and former money-lenders."

"An example of what the fanatics are doing," he said, "is to tear apart little girls without their veils. It is this sort of atrocity they carry on. One of the things the rebels attack the government for is its policy of opening co-educational schools."

Makarchuk cautioned against media reports of the region: "There's been a lot of misinformation...probably some effort on the part of the CIA and others who would like to destabilize the area. Being on the border of the USSR, they would like a country with an unfriendly government or an unsettled region which would be to the advantage of the United States."

forward #40 Feb 1980

Behind anti-Soviet scare on Afghan

by Gord Donnelly

Impoverished, backward Afghanistan, with its 17 million people in an area about the size of Alberta, has overnight become the unlikely focal point of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the pretext for a massive U.S.-led campaign against the Soviet Union. Only recently, the U.S. military hierarchy was chafing at the restraints placed upon it by the memories of Vietnam and the whirlwind of Moslem anti-U.S. mobilizations in Iran, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia.

This unexpected windfall for Washington is the fruit of a bureaucratically bungled popular upheaval within Afghanistan headed by the People's Democratic Party (PDPA), which culminated in the Soviet Union's massive military and administrative intervention in the country. The growing anti-PDPA rebellion within the area which shares 1,200 miles of border with the Soviet Union, and which is tribally linked to Moslems in Iran and in strategic areas within the USSR itself.

Since the early 1950s, the Kremlin has given some $2 billion in aid to three different regimes, beginning with a despotic monarchy, then replaced by a republic in 1973, whose president was closely linked with the Shah of Iran and the CIA. When the president of this decaying regime began a campaign of violent repression against the PDPA, an inexperienced leftist party consisting largely of a few thousand urban intellectuals centred in the capital Kabul, the party was thrust into power in 1978.

Afghanistan is a predominantly peasant and tribal country with a 90% illiteracy rate among men—98% among women—an average life expectancy of 35 years, land concentrated among very few, no women's rights, etc.

After the April 1978 revolution, the new PDPA government acted vigorously: it cancelled peasants' debts to landlords, organized mass literacy campaigns, built 600 schools, and ended child-marriage. It restored cultural and educational rights to the national minorities. It broke up the landed estates and redistributed land parcels averaging 10.2 hectares per family among 300,000 families.

At first, these policies were enthusiastically supported by the people. Demonstrations in Kabul of up to 150,000 rallied to support the PDPA. But political inexperience and immaturity undermined the good intentions of the reform program. Debts to usurers, to whom the peasants owed the main debts, were not cancelled. The government failed to replace the seed, water and implements traditionally provided by the big landlords to the tribal leaders in the country. And although the reforms showed signs of taking hold despite the opposition of some tribal leaders, the PDPA leadership failed to carry out political education to consolidate its support. It overreacted and misused its Soviet-supplied military arsenal as a bludgeon to stifle resistance. This led to attacks on rural areas with air force strafing. More seriously, Russian military advisers evoked a mutiny when they ordered Afghani troops to attack areas housing their own kin and friends.

Instead of consolidating its mass base, the PDPA leadership has provoked its disintegration, and its military command is plagued by desertions and disloyalty. More and more, the PDPA must rely on Soviet troops and civil administrators to prop it up. Now this external apparatus seems to stand as a necessary force to defend the gains of the reform program against reactionary landlords, usurers, tribal leaders, the military dictatorship in Pakistan, and U.S. territorial designs in the area.

However, the Kremlin bureaucrats' claims regarding their intercession, along the lines of being invited by the Afghani government and of defence against U.S.-Pakistan intrigue, have not helped it to win support in the United Nations.

The price of its action has been a massive Third World alignment with the U.S. resolution demanding Soviet withdrawal, the largest vote recorded against a member nation. It left Cuba, the head of the movement of non-aligned nations, virtually isolated in its outspoken support for the Soviet Union. The Spanish and Italian Commnist parties have criticized the Kremlin for its military stance. From within the camp of the workers' states, Rumania and Yugoslavia have expressed their great unease.

Socialism around the world has suffered a series of ideological blows. Stunned by the spectacle of the invasion of workers states by workers states—Vietnam into Kampuchea, China into Vietnam—socialists must now reckon with the invasion by the state founded by the Russian Revolution against an underdeveloped country.

U.S. imperialism, because of the Kremlin's action, was given new openings which allowed it to consolidate support from the anti-socialist brass of the AFL-CIO, to raise the war budget, to re-open the military draft and to gain influence in Iran. The newly elected president of Iran based some of his campaign on anti-Soviet opposition.

Moscow's military action in Afghanistan differs fundamentally from its reactionary invasions of Hungary in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968 which suppressed uprisings for socialist democracy. Certainly, it in no way resembles the barbarous imperialist war of the U.S. state against the Vietnamese, a war motivated by capitalism's implacable need to exploit Third World markets for superprofits.

On the contrary, the Stalinist bureaucracy, so often guilty of suppressing socialists—even at this moment violating basic Marxist tenets with its vile persecution and exiling of Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov—has on this occasion been forced to defend a social revolution on its doorstep.

The Soviet intercession in Afghanistan reflects the Stalinists' need to defend the nationalized property relations upon which the Soviet state was founded. It cannot permit reactionary forces aided by the military dictatorship in Pakistan and abetted by U.S. imperialism to succeed in gaining control of a country on its border.

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 6 No. 2 [41] ISSN 0700-9038 April-May 1980 Toronto 25 Cents

NDP debates Broadbent line

by the Editors

The NDP is in deep trouble. New Democrats from across the country are beginning to take stock of the recent election campaign which saw the two old-line parties exposed back-to-back as supporters of the same policies of higher interest rates, higher inflation and higher unemployment. Yet, we missed a major opportunity to knock off one of the old-line parties and emerge as the real alternative for the Canadian working people.

People were ready for change, the Saskatchewan NDP **Commonwealth** editorialized, "but the NDP could not seize the time and move them to act on that predisposition by voting NDP." The editorial continues: "The party surely must have gone about as far as it can with 'image politics' and the stylized campaigns of the 60's. There are growing rumblings among rank and file party members that to go much further would make the NDP indistinguishable from the Grits and Tories."

In the same spirit, the Woodsworth Irvine Fellowship of the Alberta NDP was moved to ask: "Just where does Broadbent think he is leading us?" They argued that "the NDP industrial strategy was compromised by many concessions to the prevailing 'free enterprise' ideology." The article called Broadbent's "sabrerattling" over Afghanistan "dangerous," and ended with a statement that "we all sincerely want an NDP federal government in Canada—but surely not at the price of compromising our commitment to democratic socialism and world peace."

The matter has not ended with the federal elections. Now in Ontario the rightward drift initiated by the federal leadership has resulted in the NDP's appearing to back the Ontario Tories. Just as Broadbent was outmaneuvered when the Liberals "stole" many of the nationalist themes of the NDP, leaving even the **Toronto Star** to headline "Liberals go too far for NDP good guys," so now the Ontario NDP is humiliated into propping up a discredited Tory government. Michael Cassidy's excuse that there are no issues that would justify an election is dishonest and scandalous. The economy is in much worse shape this year than last, when he proposed six non-confidence votes.

To top it off, we now know that Broadbent took Trudeau's offer of cabinet seats, discussed it as calmly as one might "discuss the weather," to quote Broadbent, but rejected it for the time being. Trudeau is no fool. He was able to woo NDP Premier Schreyer into the Governor Generalship, to the applause of the NDP leadership, and knows the leadership's willingness to subordinate principle to respectability and career opportunities.

The NDP's floundering response to these problems is rooted first and foremost in its program, which has been whittled down by the leadership, and in its repudiation of convention decisions. As Broadbent sabrerattled along with Clark, even Toronto **Globe** columnist Geoffrey Stevens could closely paraphrase Broadbent and note that he converted "a protest movement into a mainline bourgeois political party, a labor-based party which can vote to break a strike of west-coast grainhandlers, a non-militaristic party which can contemplate with equanimity increased defence spending, a reform party which can envision governing without performing radical surgery on existing social and economic institutions."

Nor does the NDP leadership program or perspective offer a way out of the dilemna we are in. In its search for media success and a winning personality campaign, it downplayed the party's platform. In

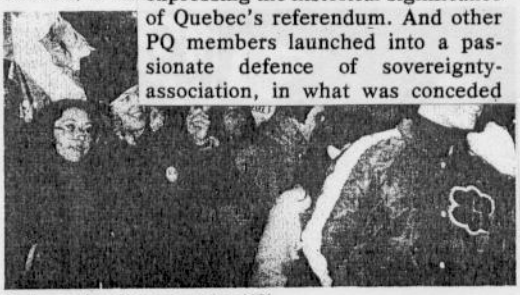
continued on page 2

Quebec rallies to Yes on sovereignty-assn.

(April) Apr 1980

by John Darling

"For the first time, it's no longer politicians...nor other governments ...who will decide the fate of Quebec, but a whole people who will stand up to take its destiny in hand and say Yes to its future"—those were the words of Lucien Lessard, Parti Québécois member for Saguenay, expressing the historical significance of Quebec's referendum. And other PQ members launched into a passionate defence of sovereignty-association, in what was conceded to be a victory in the first round in the referendum debate against the provincial Liberals under Ryan.



Quebec students demonstrate for a YES.

Canadian confederation was denounced by Premier Lévesque, which he said had made Quebec "a welfare case...our share of equalization payments has come in the form of unemployment insurance payments." The federalist campaign of the Conseil du Patronat du Québec (Management Council), trying to cow the Québécois into line with slogans like "Vote No for Prosperity" and "Vote No for Liberty" gave Lévesque the opening to attack "the moneybags who have financed that propaganda...you know that they sure as hell made it under this system as it is..."

Ryan's Liberals looked pale and carping, complaining that the referendum question was "dishonest." Ryan himself went to Montreal's Italian St.Léonard district to whip up opposition to the PQ French language Bill 101 which, although now widely accepted by anglophones and immigrants, the Liberals have pledged to seriously weaken. Meanwhile, Lévesque, speaking to a meeting of English Québécois supporting a Yes vote, declared that once independence is achieved, the "necessary defensive" measures of Bill 101 would be relaxed. The PQ, recognizing that it faces a bloc of nearly 20% anglophone opposition votes, has justifiably posed the referendum question in terms of a mandate to negotiate with Canada, with a sec-

→p2

Ont, Que Bell strikers crack company union

by P. Kent

No one, well hardly anyone, loves Ma Bell. It is hated for its outrageous rate gouging, for its patronizing public relations propaganda, for its arrogant take-it-or-leave it servicing, buttressed by its monopolistic domination of Canadian communications. But nobody, least of all the Liberal and Tory governments, has been doing anything about it—until along came some 7,400 Ontario and Quebec telephone operators and cafeteria workers. They have succeeded in cracking the Bell.

Their victory over the Bell communications octopus, after ten weeks on frigid picket lines, makes the score two down with one to go. The strikers, almost all of them women, bargaining through the Communication Workers Union of Canada which they joined last year, have brought down the crumbling company union structure that Bell had so carefully built for over 50 years. Some 15,000 craft and service workers went union in 1976, and now that the operators have come through this baptism of fire, only 15,000 clerical workers remain in Bell's disintegrating company union structure.

Bell precipitated the strike by refusing to comply with a federal conciliator's recommendation. After the strikers presented a solid and militant front for ten weeks, in the course of which Bell squandered an estimated million dollars a week on management personnel to maintain a 24-hour skeleton operation, Bell capitulated. The strikers were conceded a three-year contract, largely retroactive, which when it expires in November of this year will have boosted the top rate for operators, now $194 a week, up to $278 a week.

A key element in the settlement are changes in conditions on the job. Ma Bell's treatment of its staff as children will be drastically curtailed —with the concession of new disciplinary procedures and job security in the face of technological changes. Bell Vice-president Villeneuve conceded that "there will be a change of attitude—the rules of the game will change."

But the 9-billion-dollar corporation, which admitted to siphoning off $433 million in profit last year, is still going ahead with its appeal to the government that it be allowed to gouge subscribers for another 23% increase in residential phone rates. It is also moving to gobble up the last of the independent telephone companies in Ontario. The Ontario Telephone Association which represents 29 of the 33 remaining small independents is trying to block Bell's $20.7 million offer to purchase the Community Telephone Company of Ontario that services subscribers in the Kingston-Strathroy area. OTA Manager Maxfield predicts that "in 10 years there won't be any independent telephone companies left in the province."

The coming May 27 hearings before the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, where Bell will attempt to justify the new increase, will no doubt resound with militant opposition including the demand that Bell be placed under public ownership and workers control.

Protests violation of NDP foreign policy

Jim Turk, a former president of the Ontario NDP, has issued an appeal for support of the efforts of the Toronto Dovercourt riding association to correct the foreign policy statements of the NDP leadership.

In a mailing to a Left Caucus list compiled during last fall's federal convention, Turk said: "The disgraceful abandonment of our policy on foreign affairs by the party leadership during the election is, I am afraid, the beginning of a major rightward push by them."

Dovercourt passed the following resolution which it would like to see discussed throughout the party and passed at the April Provincial Council meeting in Ontario.

WHEREAS, during the 1980 Federal Election, the leadership of our Party spoke against the spirit and letter of Party policy on foreign affairs (e.g., the NDP commitment to that the Ontario Provincial Section of the New Democratic Party state its censure of the federal party's flagrant disregard of our foreign policy during the 1980 election and that the Ontario NDP work to assure that the democratically passed policy of the Party will be upheld in all future elections.

→p.2

Justice critic urges aid to Dowson suit

The NDP's federal shadow cabinet minister of justice and solicitor-general, Svend Robinson (Burnaby) has issued an appeal to all NDP supporters to get solidly behind the Socialist Rights Defence Fund. The fund was set up to finance Ross Dowson's half million dollar slander suit against the RCMP which arose out of the RCMP's admission of an attempt to justify their interference in the internal affairs of the NDP in the early 1970s.

When an appeal comes before the federal court in the next month or so the RCMP, with unlimited federal funds at its disposal will attempt to block the action entirely and if unsuccessful will attempt to do so on the Supreme Court level. Mr. Robinson, in his appeal for financial support to the SRDF, urges that 'the RCMP can be beaten in the courts, but it will require all of us to unite to see the case through."

Meanwhile the list of eminent Canadians who have declared their support of the case continues to grow—among the latest additions is the well-known TV personality and author of the #1 best seller **My Country**, Pierre Berton. Send your name and whatever financial aid you can give in support to SRDF, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto, Ont M4K 1V5.

Inside This Issue

Michelin p.2

30s recalled... p.3

Zimbabwe p.7

Protests violation

p. 2

withdraw from NATO and NORAD);

WHEREAS, this occurred repeatedly, thus indicating that the violation was approved by the Federal Election Planning Committee;

WHEREAS, such public opposition to Party policy goes against the democratic tradition on which the NDP has always prided itself;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario Provincial Section of the New Democratic Party state its censure of the federal party's flagrant disregard of our foreign policy during the 1980 election and that the Ontario NDP work to assure that the democratically passed policy of the Party will be upheld in all future elections.

Quebec students demonstrate for a YES.

Yes victory in sight

R 2

ond referendum, in an effort to secure as large a francophone majority as possible. The Yes vote took the lead over the No vote in March for the first time, (47.4% to 43.6%) and is gaining an overwhelming degree of support from prominent artists and intellectuals.

While the poll swing dismayed federalists and sowed panic in Ottawa, some Quebec nationalists criticized the PQ for "diluting" its independence stand. Pioneer independentist Pierre Bourgault claimed the question reduced Quebec to a nation of "beggars"—others like Vallières added their voice to various left groups outside the PQ who want to boycott it. But most Québécois support Lévesque's statement "A Yes vote is like a strike vote"—in spite of the contradictions and disagreements, finally you have to stand up and be counted—there's no opting out or abstaining.

The key union support for the Yes vote has already been won: the largest union centrale, the QFL, had earlier decided to recommend a Yes vote at its special convention on the national question scheduled later

continued on page 6

continued from page 1

this month, and Quebec's autoworkers and the postal workers under the leadership of Jean-Claude Parrot will urge a Yes vote. Next to take a position was the militant Montreal Council of the CNTU—the Quebec-based centrale—in favor of a "critical Yes," explaining that "the PQ's referendum is a hundred miles away from the idea of a socialist society that (we) envisage," but Quebec is facing an incredible coalition of capitalist federal forces evidently out to "crush the desire of the Québécois to resist national oppression."

Just announced is the support of the leadership of the CNTU for a Yes vote as well, leaving only the CEQ (teachers' union) not formally supporting the Yes vote—but as everyone knows, of all the professions active in the PQ, the teachers are best represented.

Faced with the QFL's fait accompli — sovereignty-association is well advanced in Quebec's union movement—the president of the pan-Canadian CLC, Dennis McDermott, declared he was "neither troubled nor surprised" by the decision for a Yes vote.

The leadership of the New Democratic Party, by contrast, has been split by the NDP-Quebec's recent decision to let its members vote as they feel, in the face of its leader's announcement he would vote Yes, despite Broadbent's affirmation of the opposite. The NDP-Quebec also urged the federal party to remain "neutral."

The NDP's historical failure to come to grips with Québécois nationalism is exposed by Saskatchewan Premier Blakeney's one-man crusade to save confederation—long past the eleventh hour of the crisis, more like a quarter to twelve. Blakeney claims even if the referendum is won by the PQ, no one will have a mandate to negotiate with Quebec—as if the referendum isn't a mandate to Ottawa as well as to Quebec City. But he softened earlier harsh remarks that an independent Quebec would not be treated as favorably as the U.S., and conceded that if Quebec departed, many Canadians would say "goodby and good luck."

The fact that for imperative economic reasons Canada would be forced to negotiate association, and thereby concede Quebec's sovereignty, was confirmed by New Brunswick Premier Hatfield's fears that "it's going to take time, but it's inevitable. If the PQ wins, the province will become independent."

With the powerful federalist media able to help mobilize Quebec's "Yvettes"—women claiming to be proud of their subservience—the referendum debate promises to be heated, and to expose the basic class division behind the Yes and the No vote. Big business and even 63.4% of small business (overwhelmingly francophone) adhère to the No. The Conseil du Patronat insists that the PQ's proposal even for a monetary union will lead to "paralysis," because the PQ will want control of fiscal policy to reduce unemployment, while Ottawa will want it to "fight inflation" the old capitalist way, with tax incentives to the corporations.

On May 20, the Québécois make their rendezvous with destiny—it is up to workers in English Canada to rise to the challenge and welcome this inspiring initiative.

All out for a big YES victory!

forward #41 Apr 1980

Womens conference highlights Day Care

by May Darwin

The role of unions in meeting the daycare crisis of the 1980s was the subject of a March conference on Daycare and the Unions, co-sponsored by Organized Working Women and the Centre for Labour Studies at Humber College.

OWW is open to all women in collective bargaining units and works as a caucus to promote women's interests in the labor movement. The conference was attended by some 100 delegates and received fraternal greetings from several major public figures, including Toronto mayor John Sewell, and labor council president Wally Majesky.

Mary Eady, national representative of the Women's Bureau of the Canadian Labor Congress told the delegates to "work hard to get child care on the unions' bargaining agenda—and to keep it there. Make your union executive realize that child care is as important as pensions, vacations or any other issue."

Penny Lane, president of local 2204 CUPE, told the delegates of the experiences of the Ottawa Day Care Alliance and how they increased the number of daycare spaces, ensured quality care and bargained raises for daycare workers, through concerted political action at the tri-level government funding currently available.

Barb Anderson, vice-president of the Ontario Nurses' Association at Wellesley hospital, declared in her workshop that ONA will bargain for an employer-sponsored center for the children of 400 nurses.

In another workshop, Evelyn Armstrong of the UE, a timekeeper at a General Electric production plant, said she is "shocked at the staggering stress and frazzled nerves of workers who can't afford corporate profit-making daycare and worry as they leave their children in unlicensed, unqualified and often expensive babysitting arrangements." Sister Armstrong said: "the issue of company-sponsored childcare is a labor issue of this decade."

Lynne Gordon, chairperson of the Ontario of Women Council said: "When government and business truly believe women have the right to belong to the primary workforce, they will provide adequate care for working parents."

Winning daycare is crucial to the wellbeing of a new generation of women permanently in the workforce. This generation of men and women demand both the right to work and the opportunity to have and enjoy a family.

Speaking at a U.S. conference at the Washington Journalism Center, the famous feminist Betty Friedan recently heralded. "the second stage of the women's movement—the human development stage—where men and women will struggle to become free to enjoy family, nurturing, and caring." Winning daycare is a crucial part of that struggle.

Both homeowners' and public housing tenants are feeling the crunch of government housing policy. Above, over 500 people jam Toronto City Hall chambers while 600 demonstrators wait outside to protest governmental moves to turn public housing over to private developers.

forward #41 Apr 1980

Left groups respond to Que referendum

by John Morgan

As the Québécois stand at the cross roads, the decision of their lives before them, the Québécois "left" has nothing to say to help them make a choice—and no correct analysis of the central political problem before them.

Despite some important toeholds in the union movement, the largest "Trotskyist" and "maoist" groups have only very marginal influence at best, and their positions on the referendum cut them off completely from the vast majority of workers who see the debate as a "historic moment," where they are summoned to make a major decision. "Les Canadiens" are faced with a radical break with "le Canada," that paternal and suffocating federal state, and are standing up and voting Yes to a brave new Quebec, to a future of militant struggle not only against Ottawa to win their sovereignty, but through their own new state to win the better life. Lévesque was more right than he knew when he said to vote Yes is like voting to strike—a No vote to passively accept the status quo, a Yes vote to rebel for long-term gains.

Forward stands with the forces calling for a Yes vote in the sovereignty-association referendum. The position of all these groups though expressed in different ways is substantially for a boycott of the referendum.

Left "conventional wisdom" holds that the PQ is as "capitalist" a party as the Liberal Party—no weight is given to the mass-based, proletarian nature of its membership or of its hegemony over the nationalist movement. Its reform legislation is ignored or crankily distorted (example: its anti-strikebreaker law is "pro-scab," "anti-labor). "Wisdom" has it also that the referendum is not a referendum, and that the PQ's referendum question is a sell-out. But there is worse!

The most sectarian positions are held by the three "Maoist" tendencies, and the most crudely sectarian is the Parti Marxiste-léniniste du Canada (ex-PCC(m-l)), publishers of the **People's Canada Daily News**. They oppose Quebec nationalism **per se**, denouncing the "independence fraud" of Lévesque as the equal of the "unity fraud" of Trudeau and Clark, both of which they claim are attempts to divide the working class on the basis of language and culture. They urge a No vote, which absurdly plants them squarely in the camp of the most backward layers of workers, those either conservative or fearful of change and lacking any Québécois consciousness, or chauvinist English Canadians.

The Forge, organ of the recognized, pro-China, Workers Communist Party(m-l), ran 30 candidates in last February's federal election. Their abstract platform stated: "We condemn the chauvinist stand of all the bourgeois parties and defend Quebec's right to determine its own future, as well as the just struggles being waged by all the oppressed nationalities across the country." **Forge** calls upon workers to spoil their ballots, since the referendum is "anti-democratic" and since "voting Yes means supporting the Québécois capitalists."

En Lutte, the third and least sectarian of the "Maoist" groups, literally "launched" a petition of 1,000 names into the legislature, halting debate. It criticized Bill 92, which limits spending to two umbrella groups dominated by the PQ and the Liberal Party. (The bill was professed to restrict unlimited funds available to the federalist side.) **En Lutte** also calls for a spoiled ballot, opposing Yes votes for "an essentially opportunist (PQ) maneuver."

Of the Trotskyist groups, the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ) is far the most implanted in the union movement, which may account for its considerable, if unexplained, evolution to support of Quebec nationalism. It is cautious, to the point of indecision, on the referendum. The March 24 issue of **Tribune Ouvrière** headlines "Should we vote Yes or abstain?" and features a debate between a GSTQ leader who wants to spoil his ballot, and a union militant who wants solidarity on a Yes vote rather than some yesses, some noes and some abstentions which he sees would create a "monumental 'fricassée' " (the word needs no translation.) The GSTQ's English-language paper **Workers Politics** calls unequivocably for abstention. The GSTQ also calls for convoking a "Quebec Constituent Assembly," displaying ignorance of the fact that the Assemblée nationale, center of the struggle for sovereignty now underway, is now, and is likely to be seen for some time by Quebec workers as the strongly legitimate seat of government.

Like the GSTQ, the Revolutionary Workers League's trademark is its sectarian opposition to, and misrepresentation of, the PQ and its reform legislation. The RWL dogmatically denies the possibility of a "bourgeois" party like the PQ (given the historical failure of the CP and the CCF-NDP) leading, or being propelled forward by, the pressure of a progressively mobilized working class, especially where the bourgeoisie is weak and dependent on anglophone capital. Political blinkers firmly in place, the RWL's Quebec paper **Lutte Ouvrière** pronounces as impossible, actual occurring events: "As a capitalist party, the PQ will never dare organize a real mobilization of working people to fight the federal state"—what, one asks, is the referendum? As the PQ faces the difficult task of winning an unevenly developed working class away from federalism (in its majority it has just re-elected a capitalist party—the genuine article—back to power in Ottawa) **Lutte Ouvrière** offers us a r-r-revolutionary bit of fancy: "It (the PQ) fears such a mobilisation would escape its control..." (Which planet have we landed on, Buck?)

The RWL's anglophone **Socialist Voice**, whose considered opinion is that the PQ's option of "sovereignty-association" represents the search for a compromise with the federal state—"the rejection of any real break with it"—ignores the reality that federalists all the way from Trudeau to Blakeney are fighting tooth and nail and equate it with independence. But for the RWL, unmindful of the real struggle, "voting Yes means giving a blank cheque to the PQ government to sell out the national demands of the Québécois."

In English Canada, the International Socialists' **Workers Action** finds itself neatly perched on its fence with the slogan: "Both Yes and No mean more of the same." They call for abstention, in order to prevent "PQ bureaucrats (getting) more leverage than federal bureaucrats"—all is uniformly evil in this scenario. What mysterious social dynamic called the referendum into being is not spoken of, just as the QFL's union support for the Yes vote is just reported—as an enigma? unconsidered?—unexplained, uncondemned and lordy-be, unpraised.

Last, and almost least, the Canadian Communist Party (very pro-Moscow) hides behind the fence with a positive kind of No, proposing a petition which would read: "I would like to vote Yes to a 'democratic' question: 'Are you in favor of a negotiated new constitution, founded on the self-determination of the two nations, etc., etc.,' "

The factually incorrect, formal, schematic and abstracted positions of these left currents deny them the possibility of exercizing any positive influence in the real-life and concrete struggles of the Québécois. Their "hard-line" leftism, far from allowing them to deepen the social understanding of Quebec nationalists, only denies them the possibility of rooting themselves in a mass movement as it takes on a historic challenge.

Workers protest company abuse of loopholes in PQ anti-scab law.

Tactic of boycott—another time & place

Whatever the shortcomings, for all who recognize the Québécois as a nation and their right to exercise self-determination up to and including separation from the federal state, the referendum and the mass actions developing around it pose a clear and valid choice. A Yes vote is a declaration of support for Quebec national sovereignty (independence, separation) and for continued association of Quebec in its new sovereignty with the rest of Canada with which, whatever its political economy, it has a great many common interests and concerns.

A policy of boycott or abstentionism in such circumstances, since it means standing aside from or even in frontal opposition to the central thrust of the Quebec radicalization as it is now expressed, would of necessity have to have solid and substantial grounds. For socialist militants who claim to stand in the Leninist tradition, always seeking even the tiniest point of leverage to advance the struggle of the world socialist revolution, a boycott would have to be based on an evaluation of the objective situation confronting the Québécois which would call for other, totally different methods of struggle—possibly that a profound openly revolutionary situation is on the rise in Quebec and a referendum constitutes nothing but an attempt to divert and defuse the mounting struggle.

Boycott, boycott of the Czarist Duma, of the Bulygin Duma in 1905 and of the March 1906 elections to the First Duma, was the agreed upon position of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. In 1907 Lenin came to question the policy of 1906, and in 1907 called for its reversal and for participation by the party in the new Duma. In an article **Against Boycott** Lenin explained that boycott as an activist concept "requires a direct struggle against the old regime, an uprising against it and mass disobedience...Boycott is a refusal to recognize the old regime...it is something that finds expression not only in cries or the slogans of organizations but in a definite movement of the **mass of the people**, who systematically defy the laws of the old regime, systematically set up new institutions which though unlawful, actually exist, etc., etc.," That was the situation when the Social Democratic Labor Party adopted the policy of boycott which reached its zenith in 1905 in the organization of the Petrograd Soviet. With the ebb of the revolution Lenin called for the end of the boycott and new forms of struggle. All of the Bolshevik leadership voted against Lenin. The challenge of the ultra-left faction against his leadership was only overcome by the June 1909 conference.

We wait in anticipation for an analysis from those who propose boycott that points to a new profoundly activist revolutionary situation in Quebec that the referendum is designed or can only serve to frustrate, and an alternative program that is capable of mobilizing the masses in revolutionary struggle. Silence in this matter only convinces that boycott as an activist policy is a product of infantile ultra-left fantasies. **—by J.D.**

Federal cabinet minister Chétien to Quebec Liberal Leader Ryan: Got anything else up your sleeve?

Posters at CNTU headquarters are witness to lively debate.

forward #41 Apr 1980

McDonald Inquiry winds down

Cover-up of RCMP

by Harry Kopyto

While exposés of RCMP crimes multiply, the McDonald Commission continues its efforts to appear objective while attempting to take the heat off the RCMP. Despite its perfunctory examination of RCMP witnesses, interrupted regularly by "closed hearings," the RCMP was obliged to admit that about 100 Canadians, including 21 federal government employees, had their identities passed on to four foreign intelligence agencies in 1971. Those named were allegedly members of the new left and advocates of an extra-parliamentary approach to politics.

Some of the actions of the RCMP and their political masters were even too much for McDonald to defend. In late February, he pointed out that 137 warrants authorizing the RCMP to use wiretaps were authorized by the Liberal government before the law permitting them to be used came into effect. The RCMP head, Commissioner Robert H. Simmonds, rationalizing these illegal taps, told the commission that the criminal law, properly interpreted, "allows us to do what we have to do in any case" because the RCMP always is motivated by the highest considerations. McDonald pointed out that the watch dog group, the Operational and Priorities Review Committee, set up in 1977 to monitor illegal acts, failed to carry out its functions. "You've got us going around like a dog chasing a tail," said McDonald. "According to your evidence, all investigative techniques are lawful and therefore they would never reach the OPRC. But if they did, the OPRC would disapprove."

When Simmonds attempted to defend the expulsion of any RCMP member who complained about any matter to the Solicitor General of Canada, McDonald and Simmonds smiled at each other. When RCMP lawyers wanted that fact recorded in the minutes of the hearing, McDonald responded by saying, "Don't worry about the smile on my face. Worry about the one on his. Some people smile as they slit throats."

The RCMP continues its maneuvers to challenge the mandate of the McDonald Commission to exclude dealing with any charges of misconduct against members of the RCMP. The Commission, in turn, has continued to whitewash the RCMP as it hobbles to an ignoble conclusion this summer when it will make its major reports.

The interim report which condemned any attempt to use freedom of information laws to make the RCMP more accountable to the public, was widely condemned. Attempts by Roosevelt Douglas, a black militant deported from Canada in 1976, and by Ross Dowson, the leader of an organization which was a major target of the RCMP's disruptive activities carried out under the codename Operation Checkmate, have both been denied an opportunity to appear before the commission despite their requests to do so.

Writing in the Toronto **Globe and Mail**, columnist Geoffrey Stevens, summed it all up when he said, "The Royal Commission should be closed down. Let the courts deal with defending RCMP officers. The commission has exhausted whatever usefulness and credibility it may ever have had."

RCMP KFT PARADE

Was the FLQ's terrorism created by the RCMP?

The PQ appointed Keable Commission has once again taken on the RCMP by exposing its thorough involvement in the FLQ during 1970, up to and probably including participating in the kidnapping of British Trade Commissioner, James Cross.

Testifying before the Commission, Carole Devault, herself a police informer and FLQ member from November 1970 onwards, told Commissioner Jean Keable that the RCMP could have arrested the entire membership of the FLQ—about 30 or 35 members—through its five or six police agents who had joined the organization and its support groups. In fact, RCMP-controlled FLQ cells helped set up at least two additional cells and participated in various criminal acts, including theft, to support the FLQ.

The most astonishing revelation concerned a decision made at a key strategy meeting of the senior officers of the RCMP, the Quebec Provincial Police and the Municipal Police to NOT arrest members of the Viger support cell, one of whose members was Nigel Barry Hamer, who was described to Devault and other police informants as an actual participant in the kidnapping of Cross.

Devault described numerous actions of the Viger cell including dynamite thefts and bombing attempts, which the police did not move to disrupt, despite prior knowledge. "I often asked why they did not arrest Hamer, but I never got an answer," Devault told the Commission.

Devault says that the police let the FLQ continue "to maintain a type of highly charged social climate." It was at the height of the October Crisis that the Trudeau government and the news media began to create a profound antagonism and hysteria towards the Quebec nationalist movement.

Ironically, the Trudeau government in 1970 justified the imposition of the War Measures Act, in the absence of any impending insurrection, on the basis that they were in possession of secret RCMP evidence of such an insurrection. Now that that "secret information" has become public it turns out that the government itself used terrorism to intimidate and create hysteria directed against the Quebec nationalist movement. Thus the government stands implicated in a considered conspiracy to subvert democracy by linking terrorism with nationalism.

#41 Apr 1980

Forward financial drive deadline set for June 1

Canadian Dimension, the most broadly circulated journal of the Canadian left, may be headed into stormy waters. Although completely independent of government grants or party affiliation, Revenue Canada has just stripped it of the registered charitable status it has held for three years. Donations to help sustain it will no longer be tax deductable. The impact this will have on its supporters, who must be finding it increasingly difficult to contribute the $15,000 to $20,000 a year it receives, is hard to forecast. Editor Cy Gonick is asking the Federal Court of Appeal to overturn Revenue Canada's decision.

Briarpatch, a Prairie environmental, community organization monthly magazine, was cut off one year ago from all government and organization funding. This month it is celebrating "with cautious optimism" its first full year on its own.

Forward, which unabashedly declares that its aim is to help build a class struggle socialist left in Canada's mass labor party, the NDP, is launching its drive to accumulate the funds it requires to keep operational for the next year. **Forward** has never had any governmental or organization funding, recognition from Revenue Canada that made donations to it tax deductable, or even special mailing rates. Since its launching, **Forward** has had to pay the full shot. It has been on its own.

It has been completely dependent on freely submitted articles, the understanding and good will of its readers who subscribe to it and get others to do likewise, and who on top of that contribute what they can to the $5,000 minimum pool of funds that it must have by June 1st.

The efforts that its present small band of supporters are putting behind **Forward** cannot be allowed to falter or fail. They must be freed from the pettiness of the financial worries that its now all-too-limited efforts entail and be allowed to think in terms of bigger projects that will further the liberatory socialist cause. Everyone can make a contribution. None is too small. Send yours in now—cheque or money order—to **Forward**, Box 778 Adelaide Street Post Office, Toronto M5C 2K1.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO GO TO ALL THAT TROUBLE TO FIND HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO FORWARD— ALL THE INFORMATION IS RIGHT IN THIS BOX HERE.

Stamps or cheque
Forward Publishing Assn.
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

forward

6 ISSUES—$1.50
12 ISSUES—$2.50

Name _____

Address _____

12 issue subscription $2.50
Bundle of 10 copies $2.00 pp.

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 6 No. 7(42) ISSN 0700-0383 July 1980 Toronto 25 Cents

#42 July 1980

Unions hit paper empires as strikes spread cross East

by P. Kent

As we go to press virtually all the major pulp and paper mills in Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces are on the verge of being closed down. In the front ranks of the struggle are 6,000 members of the Canadian Paperworkers Unions who have struck the world's largest newsprint producer, the far flung operations of Abitibi-Price Incorporated.

Negotiations for a new contract broke down when the company arrogantly bypassed the union, which represents over 40,000 in Eastern pulp and paper, by taking its offer directly to the workers at the Soo, and Smooth Rock Falls in Ontario, and Grand Falls in Newfoundland.

This resulted in the organization of protest study sessions. A considerable wage increase to catch up from the old Trudeau government's imposed wage freeze, and COLA clause protection from inflation are key demands. After first offering a two-year contract, the company suddenly switched to a three-year offer without the protection of a COLA clause. The company's offer of a 19% increase in response to the union's demand of 19% for the first year and 9.9% for the next two years was rejected by an 82% vote.

Abitibi was one of the six pulp and paper corporations that this spring received hefty grants from the Ontario Tory government to prod them into modernizing their operations to meet pollution standards that they have been violating. It was handed its 22.5 million dollar share in what NDP leader Cassidy called a 140 million dollar demonstration of "welfare capitalism."

The biggest struck Abitibi operations is at Port Alfred, Quebec, which employs 1,000. Abitibi's Kenogami mill, where the CPU represents the papermakers, has also been struck by those workers represented by the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU).

The CNTU, which this time is seeking to win an industry-wide settlement, has also struck the big 1,000 worker Consolidated Bathurst operation in Port Alfred, the Canadian International Paper operation in La Tugue, two small mills of St. Raymond Paper Ltd., and other operations. The struggle may be harsh and long. As the CPU bargaining committee chairman, Curley, noted: "the cost of living clause is vital to our members." CPU president Lorrain stated that, the parallel offers of the various corporations show they were "cooked up in the president's club of the Canadian pulp and paper industry."

Last month CLC President McDermott announced to the UAW convention in California that the CLC is organizing a six-union united front against Boise-Cascade to bring a victorious settlement to the fratricidal two-year old strike in Kenora and Fort Francis. The front behind the striking Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union will include the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Office and Professional Service Employees International Union, along with the International Woodworkers of America and the Canadian Paperworkers Union.

"They have an agreement that these unions will not sign a collective agreement with Boise-Casacade until all the unions there have a settlement, and that includes the Lumber and Sawmill Union strikers," according to CLC Director of Oganization Ed Johnston. While what is left of the U.S.-based United Paperworkers that did not go into the CPU broke the united front by signing an agreement for its 1,000 members at Boise-Cascade, the developing struggles against the pulp and paper bosses should strengthen any serious attempt to bring Boise-Cascade to heel. This will be the first serious attempt to translate the strong words of the CLC convention's collective action resolution into deeds.

Industrial Policy debated in NDP

by Wayne Roberts

A recession, so the saying goes, is when your acquaintances are unemployed. A depression is when you are unemployed.

As the layoffs hit the foundation stones of the economy in auto, agricultural implements and steel fabricating, it's looking more and more like a depression.

And what is the government doing about it? Both the Liberals and Tories have analyzed the lessons of the last two federal elections, and have concluded that a "populist" image goes down better with the voters. They have therefore decided to move their image to the left.

But what is the reality? The government has done nothing but hand public funds over to corporations, Cliff Pilkey, head of an OFL delegation at Queens Park, charged in June. What the government needs, but has shown no sign of adopting, is an industrial strategy, he said.

What kind of industrial strategy does labor need and what kind of program should a party representing labor advance in general, and above all, in this period of economic crisis? In the face of Liberal and Tory gestures to "the left", what kind of presence should the NDP try to maintain? These were the overriding questions facing some 1200 delegates to the Ontario NDP's June convention in Guelph.

It was a broadly representative convention and as such it represented the concerns of ordinary NDPers that the party may face heavy losses in the forthcoming Ontario elections.

In this atmosphere, the well-organized party leadership, in concert with labor officials who only recently were openly expressing disappointment with the NDP caucus, and in particular Cassidy as party leader, closed ranks.

The convention was launched with a provincial council meeting that quickly established the party ma-

→p. 3

French artist Gustav Doré portrays the degenerate Russian aristocracy, betting their vast estates and their indentured serfs at the gambling tables of Moscow and Paris.

Corporate gamble with human stakes

by the Editors

As the world capitalist economy slips into decline and crisis the U.S. corporate elite are hedging their bets, cutting back here, holding or raising there, in their global game for profits. The economies of entire countries and the lives of entire peoples are their stakes.

Canada is particularly vulnerable to this monstrous game due to its high degree of built-in economic dependency on the United States. Branch plant extensions are a striking feature of its advanced industrial economy. Every day witnesses an increasing number of cutbacks in the largely U.S. corporate-owned industrial sector — from production for Canadian market and assigned parts of the world market, to warehousing, then shutdown. In some cases the crisis that is built into their system had led the U.S. capitalists to cut back or close plants in their home base itself, which have been so ruthlessly bled as to render them outmoded and uncompetitive, and to increasingly concentrate on new projects in the neo-colonial world.

For the first time since 1954 — 26 years ago — real output across the Canadian economy in 1980 will be less than it was the year before. From a heretofore unseen "stagflation", a condition of economic stagnation, massive unemployment that effectively froze wages, and mounting inflation, the economy is now going into a decline with even the most conservative statisticians projecting more cruel inflation and more widespread unemployment. Despite the reduction of the active labor force through induced retirement and policies that discourage youth and women from even entering the work force, ever-increasing numbers are being injected into the ranks of the unemployed. And they are not from the more marginal and fragile sectors of the economy but from what have long been the most stable, vital and key sectors. With 11 auto plants closing in Ontario since February, some 30,000 autoworkers have swollen the unemployed ranks in Ontario into a contingent of 400,000 in an army of over 904,000 who can't find jobs in Canada.

It is ironic that at the same time as the capitalist system is slipping into a profound crisis, the NDP leadership in hardest-hit Ontario proposed and was able to win a convention majority for an industrial strategy that places the party in the same camp as the Tory and Liberal capitalist parties — as a supporter of limited government intervention within the framework of a free market economy.

As we witness corporate giants going into bankruptcy, the NDP leadership is joining the tinkerers who, with a patch here or there,

continued on page 2

Old gang can't set new rules

by John Darling

Canada is at the crossroads. Its constitution has been declared obsolete — such was the seismic force of Quebec's referendum on sovereignty-association, even with a No victory. The Native Peoples are demanding autonomous territories, and a myriad of struggles in English-speaking Canada for control of resources is also bearing down heavily on Ottawa.

While apparently Confederation has been given "a second chance" by the Quebec referendum, in reality it cannot succeed; the majority of the most dynamic and youthful Québécois are firmly committed to political sovereignty. It has lost too the Indians, Inuit and Métis, whose demands for sovereignty are fast maturing. For these groups, the verdict is in — Confederation has failed miserably to satisfy the needs and

→p. 2

Inside This Issue

Special Supplement on RCMP "dirty tricks" and Government cover-up

forward #42 July 1980

Constituent Assembly

p. 2

aspirations of its national minorities.

A new constitution — how, and by whom will it be drawn up?—naturally poses the need for a popularly-elected constituent assembly. The mass of Canadians, to date passive spectators of the drama unfolding in Quebec, are now called upon to act themselves — "the ball is in your court," as Premier Lévesque declared on May 20.

As war is too important to be left to generals, so too the constitution, in two Halifax history professors' views, cannot be left to politicians. John MacCormack and Arthur Andrew put forward the idea of a "constitutional convention" of elected and appointed members because "the people of Canada must be called upon to participate directly in the task of remaking the constitution," declared the former, the latter adding: "If there is any aspect of political life in which the sovereignty of citizens ought to be excercised directly, it is in determining the roles under which their representatives may act in their name."

Meanwhile, the mirage of "renewed federalism" espoused by Prime Minister Trudeau and Quebec Liberal leader Ryan floats before us, receding on the horizon with each federal-provincial constitutional meeting. The federalist victory in the referendum has put Trudeau under pressure to produce significant reforms, and soon — but stubbornly refusing Quebec's "special status", Ottawa dutifully undergoes the fictional exercise of conceding federal powers to all ten provinces at once — at just the moment when it must challenge province resource claims ranging all the way to Alberta's blackmail threat to cut off oil supplies.

Little wonder the first hastily-called premiers' conference fell flat. Lévesque showed up, pledging to win "the maximum" autonomy from Ottawa, declaring the Québécois had proven themselves "a national community," and demanding that the duality of Canadian nationhood at last be recognized, condemning Trudeau for talking about the "people" of Canada rather than the "peoples" (the Native peoples had also been summarily excluded by Ottawa).

Lévesque demanded that a new constitution entrench Quebec's right to self-determination, and opposed a "Bill of Rights" which would include "minority-language education rights". Trudeau's qualification, "where numbers warrant" would neatly take English-language provinces off the hook, while moving against a key part of Quebec's Bill 101, which allegedly denies Anglophone children of schooling in their mother tongue (but the real aim of which is to direct immigrant children into the French-language school system.)

If the first premiers' meeting was any indication, "renewed" federalism — not to speak of a new constitution — will remain a mirage. Trudeau's desperate bid to patch up federalism with a 12-point constitutional "Package for the People" (Bill of Rights, patriation of the BNA Act) and "Package for government powers" (shifting of jurisdictions) was turned down out-of-hand by the provincial premiers, who also defeated his two-paragraph "motherhood" preamble! With the bleak prospect of defeat facing him at the full conference next September, Trudeau will be forced to make good his threat of a pan-Canadian referendum or back down, and to put to the test the Québécois, patience, and memory.

A pan-Canadian referendum on a new constitution would correctly place the question where it belongs: before the mass of the Canadian people. But what of the formulation of the question itself? The Parti Québécois was able to astutely formulate "sovereignty-association" as the expression of independence, its position made known years in advance. But what proposals for a new constitution should be submitted to the Canadian peoples? To whom is to be entrusted the task of formulating these proposals? — certainly not to the prime minister, his party, or parliament, whose policies brought about the present crisis.

The "Bill of Rights" that Trudeau would put to us, for instance, includes an "emergency" suspension clause which would allow an army of War Measures Acts to march in, right over the toes of a powerless parliament. In addition, the BNA Act would be patriated, with the Queen of England as Head of State (!) — both moves against Quebec.

A new Canada, free and sovereign from royal symbols, will not be proposed by cabinet or parliament, but would certainly be on the agenda of an assembly of all the people of Canada — in their vast majority, working people. A constituent assembly, popularly elected and under the direct control of the people, would be the only source of a workable new constitution. The Big Business parties are completely mired in parliament's evolution as the crafted tool of capitalist rule — in reality, only the publicly-viewed cog in the state machine of departments, committees and the Senate, where the real decisions are made.

Unfortunately, NDP leader Broadbent, unmoved by the power of the Quebec referendum, neither belatedly recognized Quebec's special demands, nor took the initiative to push significant reforms by presenting party policy for abolition of the Senate. On the contrary, Broadbent heedlessly called for a "non-partisan approach to 'nation-building'," offering NDP support to the Liberals and Conservatives to "save Confederation in its worst crisis" since the days of its birth. Shamefully and without regard to NDP policy or the need to distinguish and defend the interests of its working class base, Broadbent has uncritically supported Trudeau's smokescreen of small-change constitutional "reform," demagogically referring to an all-party "common front" of provincial and federal parties as a "modified constituent assembly".

The NDP's constitutional expert John Harney, on the other hand, has forcefully put forward the idea of a mass-based constituent assembly, and Gerald Beaudoin, an ex-member of the Pepin-Robarts Commission, advocates setting up a constituent assembly if the coming federal-provincial constitutional conference fails. "But it has to be an elected assembly, no experts," he said, adding his view that the question of its makeup would be as difficult to answer as arriving at a new constitution.

Perhaps so — but as the assembly would be broadly democratic in composition, working class delegates would predominate in number. Perhaps labor's proposals for a new constitution would prevail, but the assembly would not seek to settle all class issues. It would be frankly made up of "all walks of life," multi-class, including small businessmen and farmers and no doubt corporate delegates. Labor and socialist currents would establish wide legitimacy in such an assembly by playing a major role in the debate on the future of Canadian society, at a point in our history when all the questions of our political future are up for decision.

The Left would argue for according full autonomy to the Québécois and Native nations, for a genuine Bill of Rights abolishing the War Measures Act and the RCMP, and for a policy of "building a nation" (to recall Broadbent's phrase) based on a planned, socialist economy — starting with public ownership of Canada's natural resources.

Not class collaboration, but the start of clarifying class interests, with the labor movement measuring its strength for the first time openly against all others in the public arena — that is what the debates of a mass-based, democratic constituent assembly would provide.

Will the NDP leadership to whom party ranks entrust their political direction continue to stumble towards the illusion of "renewed federalism," or follow the path blazed by Quebec, where the need for a better future was discussed on street-corners and trains, in kitchens and factories during the referendum. Creating a new Canadian constitution demands the same ability, energy and courage for a mass forum, if we are to shake off the frustration and stagnation of Confederation and go forward.

forward #42
EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

Industrial strategy debated at Ontario NDP convention

p. 3

chine's control. An earlier decision of provincial council to censure Broadbent's cold-war electioneering was reversed. On the convention floor itself, yet another provincial council resolution in favor of Quebec self-determination was repudiated. Later, in nominations and elections for the executive members-at-large, the momentum was maintained, as a slate that was closed to any left-wingers was elected. And to bring the convention to a close, a resolution was passed calling for a renegotiated auto pact and an NDP Task Force to "study" the problems of the auto industry, without so much as a suggestion that complaining about the auto pact is like beating a dead horse, or that public ownership of Chrysler needs to be actively pursued.

All the logistics of the convention favored the right, from a barely audible public address system, to partisan chairmen who accepted calls for the question, disregarding normal rules of debate and undermining the very purpose of the alternating pro and con speakers' list, whenever a right-winger had spoken effectively.

Chief of the logistical advantages of the right was the task force method of preparing the major document presented to the convention, the task force on industrial strategy. The task force, the product of almost two years work, represented a compromise position toward a "mixed economy," and locked many previously left-wing adherents into support of the compromise. The report, the first effort of the NDP to systematically deal with an industrial strategy to overcome the "structural problems" created by U.S. ownership, was presented to the convention by such figures as Peter Warrian, Floyd Laughren and even Cec Taylor. It was presented, moreover, as the only alternative to "no policy."

In a show of force to the press, who were expected to report on a united convention, the question was called after only six people spoke from the floor. And the press certainly got the message. The Toronto **Star** hailed the decision in an enthusiastic editorial welcoming the NDP to the mixed economy fold. **Globe** correspondents noted the consensus in all three parties toward problems of de-industrialization.

The left was able to ally itself with broader forces on only four occasions. An attempt to have the party endorse completion of the Darlington nuclear plant was defeated, as was a leadership motion favouring $15.00 membership fees, and as was a referral to postpone hiring a women's organizer until after the elections. Labour resolutions against allowing non-unionists to vote on contract offers and against allowing employers to dictate the timing of contract votes also passed, though minimal reference was made to the fact that the NDP caucus had voted for the precise opposite of this in joining with the Tories to pass Bill 89.

The convention, however, marked a step forward for the left. Although the left had not prepared an alternate document of its own — a fatal weakness which denied its forces any pre-convention momentum in the party at large, and a weakness succumbed to largely because of pressure exerted by elements in the left co-opted onto the task force — it entered the convention as an organized force.

For the first time since the demise of the Waffle, left-wingers took the opportunity to meet considerably in advance of the convention in order to prepare and discuss criticisms of the leadership position. Organized on a regional basis in relation to constituency activity, left-wingers developed two approaches to the leadership position on industrial strategy. One position, which came to be known as the "Sudbury position," favored a select number of telling amendments which could be then presented to the floor of the convention. The other position, the "Toronto position" which was decided on in the midst of the convention, favored an omnibus approach which replaced every leadership reference to public investment and regulation with a call for public ownership under workers' control. A left caucus meeting of over 200 voted overwhelmingly in favor of this latter approach, suggesting a desire to frontally challenge the leadership commitment to a so-called mixed economy. However, since this approach was also restricted to a schematic list of amendments, it didn't allow the left to either fully develop or explain its position.

The other difference which surfaced within the left related to the executive slate. With the inclusion of long-time activists Alice Heap and former MP John Rodriguez on the leadership slate, Rodriguez pressed for a policy of challenging only four other members of the leadership slate. He argued for a balanced slate, wherein the left could "knock off" just four of the least known and weakest members of the leadership slate. This was presented as a winning tactic which would not appear "greedy," and which would have the greatest mathematical possibilities of winning at least some posts.

In opposition to this view, another group favored running as many left candidates as were willing to run (which amounted to six people, after two were discouraged from running.) Supporters of this position argued that it would allow more leftists to develop as leaders, and would express the left's strong opposition to current trends in the party.

Rodriguez' position won in a close vote that began to crystallize two different perspectives before the left — that of a pressure group which tries to influence the reformist policies of the present leadership, and that of a group which sees itself as educating the membership about an alternative — a socialist policy for the party.

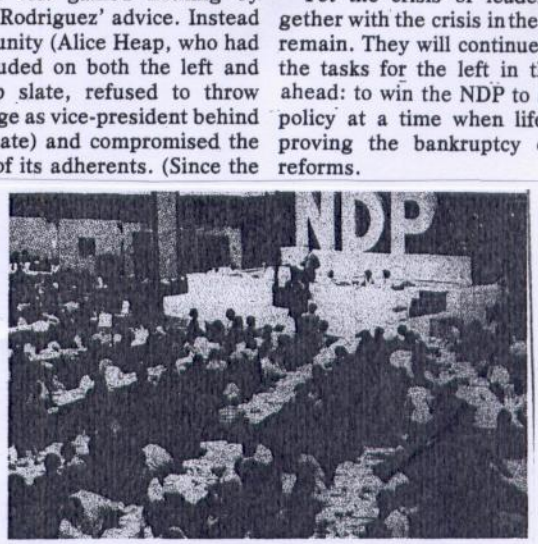
As it turned out, none of the four left candidates were elected, although all garnered respectable support, ranging from 394 to 519 votes. Thus, the left gained nothing by following Rodriguez' advice. Instead it lost its unity (Alice Heap, who had been included on both the left and leadership slate, refused to throw her prestige as vice-president behind the left slate) and compromised the integrity of its adherents. (Since the four-person slate was designed to knock off the "weakest", that is, the most locally-tied and least generally known, rather than the most right-wing slate members, left delegates from particular areas were hard-pressed to explain why they didn't support local candidates who were no different from right-wing slate members who went unchallenged.)

Despite these differences and difficulties, the left emerged with an agreement about the need to strengthen its organization and unity. Regional meetings to evaluate the convention have been planned, and representatives from these regions will meet to discuss ideas for a general conference for the left.

The challenge before the left remains formidable. The NDP leadership, federally and provincially, is without a clear policy in many areas, in particular auto. It has no policies which clearly differentiate the party from the Liberals and Tories, both of whom have embraced the rhetoric of industrial strategy, mixed economy and public investment. And it is saddled with a humiliating position on Quebec, which denies Quebec's right to self-determination.

As the leadership pulls hard to the right, it is trying to drag inexperienced and uncertain forces sympathetic to the left into its orbit, above all the "centre" and "left" forces who as yet define their perspective in terms of influencing the leadership. It is in this context that confusion reigned among centre and some left delegates at the convention, and that some were driven into an uneasy peace with the leadership.

Yet the crisis of leadership, together with the crisis in the economy, remain. They will continue to define the tasks for the left in the period ahead: to win the NDP to a socialist policy at a time when life itself is proving the bankruptcy of liberal reforms.



Assembled delegates to the Ontario NDP convention in Guelph.

forward #42 July 1980

No mileage for autoworkers in auto pacts or giveaways

by Dale Ritch

Robert White, Canadian head of the powerful United Auto Workers Union, has promised to mobilize thousands of Canadian autoworkers in street demonstrations if the provincial and federal governments refuse to take measures to stop the escalating layoffs in the auto industry.

White has demanded that the government act immediately on:

- legislation to delay plant closings
- resurrection of benefit programs to supplement unemployment insurance for laid-off workers
- increased auto production in Canada from U.S. and Japanese companies
- a shorter workweek for the same takehome pay, to spread the jobs around.

White's statement, as weak and floundering as it is in terms of a program that could solve any basic problems of the industry, is a departure from UAW leadership silence in the face of layoffs which have ravaged the industry in Canada. Currently, over 30,000 of 65,000 assembly workers are on layoff, 20,000 of them indefinitely. Additional thousands are laid off in the auto parts sector. Nothing less is at stake than the survival of an industry which creates one out of every six jobs in the province.

The Canada-U.S. autopact has provided no framework to resolve this problem. Japanese and European imports have captured 30% of the North American market and are on the upswing.

Tariffs and the autopact have not been able to overcome the problems of world-wide competition. Auto production in North America is both undercapitalized, relative to the mechanization achieved elsewhere, and insufficiently adapted to fuel-efficient models. Nor have tariffs and the autopact been able to deal with the collapse of consumers' purchasing power that has developed in the course of prolonged recession.

The recession has also resulted in skyrocketing deficits in autopact trade with the U.S. Canada's 1979 deficit of $3.1 billion is certain to increase. Already, the deficit for the first four months of 1980 has reached $948 million, compared to $793 million for the same period last year.

And there are even more ominous changes on the horizon. The U.S. government, auto companies and auto worker leaders are threatening to increase tariffs on imports if these companies do not set up plants in the U.S. Volkswagen has already established one plant and Datsun and Honda are planning theirs. Cars produced by these plants do not come under the auto pact, and Canadian workers are barred from any job guarantees. Appeals to have these companies establish in Canada have fallen on deaf ears. These developments, coupled with the refusal of the U.S. government or auto industry to renegotiate the pact to guarantee a fairer share of production in Canada, demonstrate that the Auto pact has failed the needs of the Canadian economy and that a new approach is needed.

The giveaway of huge subsidies with no strings attached, such as the one to Ford ($68 million in 1978) and more recently to Chrysler ($200 million in May, 1980) is no solution either. The failure of such handouts was demonstrated when Ford closed down an engine plant in Windsor, laying off 800 workers, and subsequently laid off 900 indefinitely in Oakville. These two layoffs mean that Canada is getting less jobs now than before the grants.

The $200 million loan guarantee given to Chrysler is even less likely to protect Canadian jobs. First, Chrysler refused any guarantees, specifying only that Canada would get nine percent of U.S. jobs. When you consider that Canadian workers have had 11% of the jobs, and that Canada accounts for 14% of Chrysler sales, this does not appear as much of a concession. When you further consider that Chrysler will be producing vans and small trucks rather than fuel-efficient cars in Canada, and that Chrysler's sales are dropping relative to both imports and North American competition, you begin to feel uneasy. When you learn that Chrysler lost $448 million in the first quarter of 1980, compared to $54 million for the same period in 1979, and that 20 U.S. and European banks refuse to support the $1.5 billion aid package, you realize that we have been fleeced.

Unfortunately, both Robert White and ONDP leader Mike Cassidy uncritically supported the government handout. Cassidy forgot about his usual clarion call for equity participation for corporate subsidies and labelled the deal "an intelligent compromise and positive step in the right direction." Forty-eight hours after the deal was signed, Chrysler closed down its Windsor V-8 plant, to the loss of 450 jobs.

Indeed, the potential loss of $200 million in loan guarantees pales when one considers that 15,000 highly paid, unionized jobs will disappear in the likely event that Chrysler becomes the first heavyweight casualty of this recession.

Any overall solution to the auto crisis in Canada must be based on the reality that we have a large, highly skilled and productive workforce. We have raw materials, the nickel, iron, steel, plastics and aluminum which are necessary, and an excellent road and railway system to transport these products. We have a network of huge plants which can be retooled. Lastly, we have a market, a need for fuel efficient cars geared to the Canadian climate. If we are lacking in technical expertise, an inevitable byproduct of U.S. ownership, we can arrange a licensing deal such as the Soviet Union arranged with Fiat. We can train ourselves in our educational institutions, and put our teachers back to work.

All the ingredients are there, if we have the vision to put them together in a publicly owned corporation. An obvious place to start is Chrysler Corp., which the public has already been forced to pay into. Otherwise, we will be forever at the mercy of rapacious but declining U.S. multinationals.

forward #42 July 1980

Referendum defeat resolved nothing

by John Morgan

It was an atmosphere of exuberance and disappointment at the May 20 rally of the Yes forces, in Montreal, as the results of the PQ's referendum on sovereignty-association came in. Party activists booed or cheered their narrow losses and victories in francophone ridings, and hissed disapproval of the large No margins from English-speaking areas. The reaction was mixed joy at the strong showing of the nationalist movement (up from fringe support in the early 60's to 40.5% in the referendum), and disbelief that federalist promises of a "renewed confederation" had succeeded in splitting the francophone vote.

The tone of the rally was one of reconciliation with compatriots who had voted no and determination to fight on — the Yes vote had won labor, the youth, and a solid foundation for the future. The best Yes vote was in the Saguenay, 90% francophone, highly unionized, a big percentage between 18 and 34 years of age. QFL leader Louis Laberge claimed 53% of James Bay workers followed his centrale's Yes vote campaign. Prisoners voting in penitentiaries for the first time — a PQ reform — voted 83% Yes.

An ominous array of federalist forces, including all the press, radio and TV, combined with Liberal leader Ryan's back-street brawl tactics, likening the independence movement to fascism, and rumoring that old age pensions would be cut off.

This was supplemented with a sweet-talk campaign led off by Prime Minister Trudeau himself — miraculously transformed into a cool, reasonable main willing to bend over backwards to accomodate, in the abstract, all of Quebec's grievances and aspirations.

Gone were the days of expressions like "mange la merde" ("eat shit", Trudeau said, gesturing, towards striking post office drivers). Plans to have the Canadian army on maneuvers in Quebec during the referendum were cancelled, during Joe Clark's short stay in Ottawa. Quebec nationalism had become decidedly less "seditious" — because of its mass base, and the success of the PQ's campaign for sovereignty-association.

The PQ opened the door wide not only to older, more conservative workers, but to anglophones and immigrants as well, with its tactical approach of asking for a mandate to open negotiations for sovereignty-association. None could fault the PQ's recognition of the need to meet the level of national and political consciousness — no one, that is, who recognized what that level is, and wished to meet it.

Unionists in Quebec who supported a "critical Yes" vote, like Yvon Charbonneau, activist and past teachers' union president, criticized the PQ for not actively mobilizing the Québécois on more nationalist lines, yet conceded that the Yes vote would have been smaller had it done so. Robert Gaulin, president of the same union, pointed out that many teachers had become disenchanted with the PQ, and abstained in protest, as was the case with many militants in the CNTU.

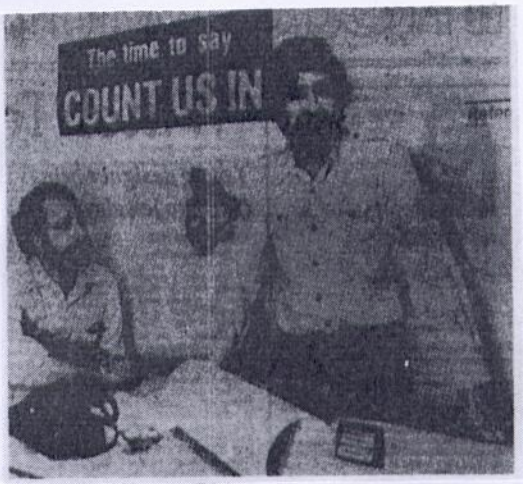
While the feeling during the referendum among the vast majority of unionists, feminists and students was one of expressing solidarity by voting Yes, now that the referendum is passed, the PQ will probably strengthen its labor base by stepping up its program of social legislation and enforcing its labor legislation, such as the anti- strike-breaking law. The government is still tied up in the courts in its bid to nationalize the giant Asbestos Corp., but has won a court decision defending its right to take it over.

Important new family law legislation, for example, is to be proposed. The fact that the PQ government, having lost the referendum, remains a popular one, because of its social and cultural legislation, renders the idea put forward by some on the left for a Quebec labor party a very distant concept. Not only does the PQ stand at the head of the independentist movement, it will further extend its working class base to remain in power. It is within the PQ where the most important concentration of politically active unionists are to be found and where the process of policy debate will develop, and where important elements of a future mass labor party will appear.

The "revolutionary" left is outside the mainstream of labor politics in Quebec, it is factionally opposed to it. During the referendum, most of these groups defended an "abstentionist" position, calling for the spoiling of ballots. The tactic was a notable failure, signifying that they had squandered the opportunity of a mass referendum by remaining totally irrelevant and even hostile to the mass of Québécois workers' elemental class and nationalist consciousness. It will be a long time before "la prochaine fois" for them...

Even in defeat, the PQ's referendum sent shock waves that have profoundly shaken the foundations of Confederation. A constitution crisis is the immediate result — indeed, "the ball is in (our) court," more than Lévesque realized when he warned Ottawa to live up to its promises.

The significance of Quebec's referendum is yet to be measured, above all in English-speaking Canada.



Henry Milner, president of the Committee of Anglophones for Sovereignty-Association, working for a Yes vote in the referendum. His byline in a major article he contributed to our last issue was inadvertently left off.

At the invitation of the SCFP [Quebec wing of CUPE], some 200 delegates from Quebec at the CLC convention in Winnipeg assembled at the tomb of Louis Reil, who was hung in 1885 for rebelling against the Canadian government, and for having fought for the recognition of the rights of the francophone Métis.

Louis Laberge and Fernand Daoust laid a wreath in the name of the QFL in the company of Grace Hartman and Roger Laramée, representing the SCFP.

forward #42 July 1980

Broadbent's pro-war stands vs. NDP program

Left defends censure of Broadbent

On April 20, a provincial council meeting of the ONDP voted to "state its censure" of the federal election campaign's pro-cold war stance. Broadbent actually denied having violated NDP policy and asked the provincial council to reconsider its censure on the eve of the June convention.

Broadbent's denial flies in the face of all the facts. Does he also deny that NDP MP Pauline Jewett challenged him in the midst of the campaign for his cold-war electioneering? Does he deny that the federal NDP caucus did not utter one peep of protest when NORAD was renewed in federal parliament on May 12? Nor do Broadbent's denials square with the facts presented in the following leaflet, prepared by Jim Turk of the left-wing Toronto Dovercourt riding, and distributed to provincial council delegates in June. We reproduce the leaflet in its entirety as an informational service to our readers.

On April 20, the ONDP Council passed the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that the Ontario Provincial Section of the NDP state its censure of the federal party's flagrant disregard of our foreign policy during the 1980 election..."

On May 10, the NDP Federal Council responded:

"Be it resolved that this Council reject the above decision of the Ontario Council and urge the Ontario Council to reconsider its decision after examining the facts of the case..."

Here, then, are the facts that led to the consideration of the motion by the Ontario NDP.

YOU DECIDE!

[Copies of transcripts from which the quotes in this leaflet are taken will be available at the Provincial Council meeting.]

NATO

NDP Policy: A New Democratic government would withdraw totally from NATO, from the Anti-Bomber Defence System under NORAD and from the Defence Production Sharing Agreement.

What was said: 1) **"I personally do not favor the withdrawal of Canadian troops from NATO, either politically or militarily. I have stated that position."** (Bob Rae, CBC Radio election news package, 8/2/80)

2) **Q. Are you prepared to increase the Canadian contingent in NATO if you form a government?**

A. We are prepared very precisely to look at that. (Ed Broadbent, interviewed on CBC's **Sunday Morning** 3/2/80)

GENERAL THRUST OF FOREIGN POLICY

NDP Policy: The New Democratic Party seeks a world in which no persons suffer from oppression, discrimination, poverty, or war, in which all are free to choose their way to democratic and equalitarian societies. It believes that Canada can play a significant and constructive role in world affairs by actively seeking to reduce international tension, to stop the arms race, and facilitate essential social and economic change in the under-developed areas of the world.

A just international order must be free from the domination of power blocs. Canada must be careful to extract itself from collaboration with those countries which practice economic and political exploitation of the third world, often through their aid policies. We must work postively to end the material inequality among nations which is not only indefensible in itself but prevents international peace and good will.

What was said: Reproduced here is the last question in a full page NDP ad that appeared in the **Toronto Star** the week before the election. The ad began with "FIND OUT IF YOU ARE A CONSERVATIVE, A LIBERAL OR A NEW DEMOCRAT." For each of the issues listed below check the statement (A, B, or C) that comes closest to your own point of view.

Regardless of the extent to which 'A' constitutes NPD policy, of the three options 'B' is clearly the strongest and most direct statement of the core of our long standing policy on foreign affairs. Not only is our own policy disclaimed, it is conveyed as the exclusive domain of a party whose political ideas we oppose.

15. Foreign Policy [A] We need to take co-ordinated trade and political action with other countries to show we will not tolerate Soviet aggression against neighboring states. [B] We should capitalize on our reputation as a peacekeeper to help alleviate international tensions and bring nations together. [C] We need to increase our defense budget by 17% and spend 4 billion dollars on American fighter planes.

ANSWERS: the A answers are the New Democrat position, the B answers the Liberal position, and the C answers the Conservative position. This advertisement was paid for by the New Democrats.

MILITARY SPENDING DISARMAMENT

NDP Policy: Instead of spending nearly two billion dollars on military defence and three hundred million on economic aid, a New Democratic government would be prepared to cut its defence spending sharply and increase its expenditures on the constructive war against poverty to 2%

Jim Turk of the Ont. NDP Left Caucus.

of the gross national product, a sum considerably in excess of one billion dollars.

Its defence budget would go to the maintenance of a highly-trained professional force ready for the strengthening of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces, emergency relief operations, and civil projects of a constructive and nation-building nature within Canada. The energies and resources saved through this policy could then be applied directly to the peaceful pursuit of world Peace.

What was said: 1) **"A major decision is about to be made involving billions of dollars in the purchase of jet aircraft with no sensible military criteria applied at all, and Terry Sargent, our MP who is the defense critic, has proposed that we have a white paper. And not for once something to bury an issue, but to have a hard look at our defense requirements for the 80's, our role, and how in the light of the higher tension created by the Soviet Union to make a recommendation. If we have to increase our military expenditure, for example, and if in what domain, and you can be sure, if the answer is yes, we would follow that course of action."** (Ed Broadbent, interviewed on CBC's **Sunday Morning,** 3/2/80, 2nd hour)

Q. You say you will not now look at increasing the defense budget of Canada?

A. We are looking at it, we have advocated looking at it and in the light of the Afghanistan situation there is all the more urgency for that inquiry to be made. (Ed Broadbent, **Sunday Morning,** 3/2/80)

2. Moderator: **Would you back it up by increasing Canadian commitment to NATO?**

Ed Broadbent: **That would depend entirely if the circumstances warrant it. For example, when Andrew Brewin, who was a member of Parliament for us up until the last election, was our defence critic. He was very vociferous in saying that the troops that we now have in Western Europe, at that time, need to have the most up to date modernized tanks available. We made that argument. We supported it then. We support it now.** [Cross Country Checkup, CBC /radio, 27/1/80)

WHAT THE PRESS THOUGHT

The way the ONDP understood the representation of the NDP foreign policy during the election is also the way it was perceived by the press. For example: *The Globe and Mail*, in its summation of the policies of the three parties, described the NDP's policy on "Defence, Foreign Affairs" as:

Favor a full scale review of Canadian foreign policy in light of Soviet moves in the Middle East. The party wants to reevaluate its previous proposals on disarmament, cuts in military spending and Canada's withdrawal from NATO and NORAD defence organizations which was advocated with the aim of having Canada make independent military decisions and also truly play a neutral role in world politics.

Globe and Mail, 9/2/80, p. 11].

On February 8, in its morning news broadcast, CBC Radio reported on a meeting in Toronto the previous evening between Flora MacDonald, Herb Gray and Bob Rae. Noting that, in the absence of a debate between the federal party leaders, this meeting was "widely perceived" as the most significant of the campaign, the CBC reporter announced an "election first":

All three parties were in agreement on Canada's role in NATO.

[*CBC News, 8/2/80, 8:30 am*].

Foreign policy statements by our federal party during the 1980 election campaign were rarely clear and accurate in their representation of NDP policy. Statements that began to indicate our policy were often contradicted in the next sentence. More often, our policy was stated in a totally misleading manner, or personally disavowed by prominent spokespersons. Even the Party's paid political ads misrepresented our position.

forward #42 July 1980

OH, HIM? —WELL, HECK, WE ONLY TURN HIM LOOSE WHEN IT'S NECESSARY. Oliphant

RCMP keeps files on trade unionists

While the Metropolitan Toronto Labor Council heard Canadian Civil Liberties Association counsel Alan Borovoy vigorously challenge Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan for Ottawa's failure to act against RCMP violators of the law, the highlight of the meeting was the revelations from the floor by Mike Lyons. Lyons is now secretary of the council which has the largest affiliated membership in the country.

Lyons revealed that the RCMP has an extensive file on him and he knows that they have files on more than a score of other unionists at various levels of prominence in several major unions. In 1973, when he was regional representative for the Public Service Alliance, he was informed of this fact by a union member working at the RCMP headquarters who actually managed to show him the RCMP's file on him.

According to Lyons the file contained material related to his union and political activities since 1966 — his membership in several unions, his activities as a union organizer, his involvement in the NDP (he is now a top officer in the Metro New Democrats), along with various clippings and notes such as his participation in the anti-Vietnam war protest movement. A photo taken ouside of the U.S. Consulate circled a participant, presumably him.

The file tabbed him as a supporter of the NDP's left-wing Waffle which attracted the special attention of the RCMP — although Lyons said he was working in Turkey during the period of its existence. There was nothing claiming that he had ever done anything illegal. It also noted that he was part of the left wing caucus at an Ontario Federation of Labor Convention that he attended.

The RCMP seemed particularly concerned about his stay in Turkey where he was employed by Northern Electric in establishing a quality engineering program for Turkish engineers and employees. A memo noted that he had met and talked with the president of the Turkish metal workers union. On his return to Canada, while president of the union local here, Northern Electric discharged him. The file contained a newspaper clipping recording that he had won a grievance and was reinstated. The official reason for the discharge was lack of a suitable position though he subsequently learned in a discussion with the company's vice-president that the true reason was his involvement with the union in Turkey. The file noted that he had visited the Soviet Union while in Turkey.

While protesting to Solicitor General Kaplan about the RCMP keeping files on a trade unionist, Lyons stated that he had testified to these facts to a representative of the McDonald Commission of Inquiry along with other evidence that the police tapped a phone conversation he had over his union's phone with Postal Workers Union leader Alex Gould. There has been no report of the commission's investigation of this nor of any other evidence of the RCMP's lengthy and persistent harassment of the organized labor movement.

Kaplan attempted to dismiss Lyons' protest against police files as something that the RCMP has to quite naturally establish whenever someone brings something to its attention in its capacity as the federal police.

Mike Lyons, secretary of the Metro Toronto Labour Council.

Journal indicts RCMP "dirty tricks" operations

As an informational service to our readers, we reprint this editorial from the **Edmonton Journal** *on Operation Checkmate. The editorial was reprinted in the May 6, 1980* **Brantford Expositor.**

Recent disclosures indicate that the RCMP security service, in "Operation Checkmate", broke the law to disrupt political organizations which obeyed the law.

The dirty tricks of the RCMP included threatening telephone calls, causing one political activist to leave the country, and a circulation of letters questioning the mental health of another activist.

RCMP Assistant Commissioner S.V.L. Chisholm has admitted to the McDonald Commission that he never considered the legality of the activities but that he did approve them, asking only that they be conducted in a humane way. How one threatens and defames in a humane way was never explained.

The purpose of such activities was to create confusion, discredit leadership, and generally to throw into turmoil alleged "subversive groups". The rationale was that due process could not prevent anticipated violence.

In fact, the Criminal Code of Canada, Sections 60, 61 and 423, enables the prevention of anticipated violence under the headings of "sedition", "seditious conspiracy" and "conspiracy". If anticipated violence was evident, the RCMP should have laid charges to prevent it. If more evidence was needed, they should have continued legal surveillance. And if violence was not threatened, the organizations should have been left alone.

"Operation Checkmate" exceeded the normal responsibility of the police to gather evidence and usurped the responsibility of the courts to weigh evidence and dispense justice. That may be acceptable in a police state—it is not acceptable in a democracy.

The police action was apparently motivated by a concern over "subversive activity". That concern was terribly confused as it failed utterly to distinguish between violent intentions and radical criticism. We must be secure from violence, political or otherwise. But the security service perverts its mandate when it secures us from ideas, however radical.

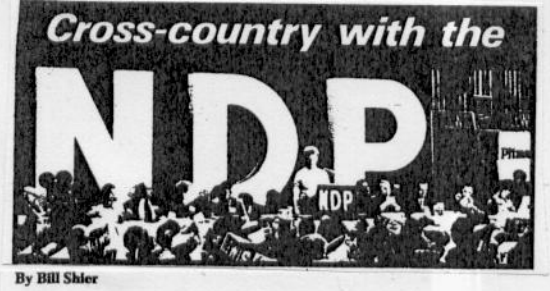
This distinction, between groups which present a clear and present danger to our security and those which only endanger our intellectual insulation, cannot be left to the RCMP. Under the law, it is not. We expect the RCMP to observe the law.

Urges action against police lawbreakers

Last month the Canadian Civil Liberties Association presented Robert Kaplan with a 15,000 signature petition demanding that the federal government prosecute RCMP officers who have been revealed as having broken the law. The federal government, with Kaplan as solicitor general and Justice Minister Jean Chrétien in his capacity as Attorney-General of Canada, has jurisdiction over several cases involving RCMP illegalities, such as first class mail openings and break-ins without warrants. The delegation presenting the petition, which included NDP leaders David Lewis and T.C. Douglas, author Pierre Berton, and CCLA President Walter Tarnapolsky, charged the government with following a "double standard" on RCMP violations of the law.

The signatures had been collected by CCLA supporters across the country over a year ago — before the May 1979 election. Efforts by Socialist Rights Defence lawyer Harry Kopyto and by Ross Dowson to get last fall's annual CCLA meeting to support their demand that the Ontario attorney-general take action against RCMP violations of the law admitted to before the Krever Commission, were referred for further consideration. Dowson's presentation of letters that the RCMP admitted forging, in testimony before the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records in Ontario, forced the first public admission of the existence of the RCMP's planned campaign of harassment against persons and organizations of completely legitimate but dissident opinion—Operation Checkmate.

In the meantime, under considerable pressure to act, since these violations of the Criminal Code fall under his jurisdiction, Ontario Attorney-General McMurtry launched an investigation through the Criminal Investigation Bureau. McMurtry has since made it known that the McDonald Commission refused his request to have Ontario law officers present at its secret hearings where some of the evidence of Operation Checkmate was revealed. He claims that OPP investigators have been prevented from interviewing the RCMP officers involved and Solictor General Kaplan has released only the highly censored testimony before the McDonald Commission, dealt with elsewhere.



forward
#42 July 1980

By Bill Shier

For a socialist party

The May 1980 issue of **NDP Newsletter**, a publication of the St. John's, Newfoundland NDP, carried the following statement from party leader John Greene:

"In the wake of the disappointments of the Provincial and Federal Elections, members may be asking themselves 'Where do we go from here?' and 'How do we pick up the pieces?' Well, the question we must ask ourselves is 'Do we really want all those pieces?'

"Until the Grand Falls Convention in 1979, the view that prevailed throughout much of the party was that we should organize around the elections, that we should put most of our energy and ideas into getting NDP candidates elected to office.

"But at that convention it became clear that there was now a strong reaction **against** the kind of party which had been emerging. We decided that was not the kind of party we wanted: it is too much like the house built on the proverbial sand; like that house, it falls apart too easily. We need instead a party constructed on strong foundations—foundations made up of two main materials: first, solid socialist theories, which must be understood by party supporters and constantly re-examined in the light of the changing situation in Newfoundland and Labrador, and secondly, strong grass-roots support at the riding level, by people from all walks of life and from all parts of this province. Only in this way can we build a true Socialist Party, in which members are valued not only for their help in raising funds and canvassing for elecions, but also for their participation in party policies and programs, as supporters of the cause of socialism.

"For my part, I began in March to meet every week with members in the various districts in and around St. John's. I hope Party finances will improve to the extent that I will be able to go to other parts of the province, to reach out to you, so that together we can meet this challenge of building a new, strong, truly **demo-Socialist Party in the 1980s.**"

The **Newsletter** is available through the NDP office at 3 Military Rd., P.O. Box 5275, St. John's, Newfoundland A1C 5W1.

Redbaiter expelled

Once again, redbaiting has proven itself an unprincipled as well as extremely disruptive and costly method of settling political scores in the labor movement. This time, it has frustrated the development of political clarity within the Nova Scotia NDP, which emerged from the political wilderness only in the last election when it captured 13% of the popular vote, cost MLA Paul MacEwan his party membership, and may even lead to an open split in the NDP.

Resigned NS NDP leader Jeremy Akerman.

When Jeremy Akerman announced his resignation as leader of the Nova Scotia NDP on May 16, he indicated that he was "increasingly uncomfortable with many of the attitudes and positions of the party and increasingly out of sympathy with many of the leading personalities within the party."

Instead of encouraging serious discussion and evaluation, MLA MacEwan then issued a statement that a "Trotskyite element" within the party had brought about Akerman's resignation. One week later, MacEwan had to retract that statement "emphatically, unconditionally and irrevocably," and admitted to the Halifax **Chronicle Herald** that he had resorted to the "unfortunate device of hypothesizing." His only "proof" was a positive reference to an "unsatisfactory publication" and "improper reading material" in a party publication. Unfortunately, party officials agreed to delete any further reference to this "improper reading material," which, as it happens, was **Forward**.

Within days of his retraction, the irrepressible MacEwan launched into another irresponsible and destructive round of mud-slinging against "ayatollas" on the provincial executive and the "disruptive methods" of "Trotskyites." The party executive had decided to expel MacEwan for this and other gross indiscretions. MacEwan was expelled by a unanimous executive vote in mid-June, and the expulsion was upheld by the Provincial Council, with the result that MacEwan may now start his own party.

Left out of all the tempest is a frank discussion of the real problems surrounding Akerman's resignation, and the real problems of the NDP in Nova Scotia. Trotsky-baiting is strictly a red herring. MacEwan's incredible charges only served to deflect attention from real problems, impose thought-control on political discussions, and poison the atmosphere for political debate.

Tommy Douglas joins the Board

Clare Powell, former education director for the NDP in Saskatchewan, wants to know what Tommy Douglas is doing on the board of directors of Husky Oil, and why no New Democrats have yet protested.

"It's enough to make J.S. Woodsworth roll over in his grave," he writes in the June issue of the Saskatchewan investigative magazine **Briarpatch**. Though not in the ranks of the international giants, Husky controls such important firms as Foothills Pipeline and nets substantial profits. In 1979, its profits rose to $93.1 million, a 59.6% increase from 1978, but still 58% below the profit rate so far this year.

What, Powell asks, "does something like this do to the ordinary solid 'grass roots' New Democrat (or CCFer) of many years standing? Someone steeped in the tradition of hatred for big bad business; whose hackles automatically rise whenever the very word 'corporation' is mentioned?"

Powell believes that Douglas is not motivated by corrupting desire for personal gain. Rather, his decision to serve on a corporate board, Powell argues, flows from his social democratic belief that token leftists can make the capitalist system more humane — "Sort of the rotten apple in the barrel concept in reverse," Powell writes.

"So", he concludes, "after our initial shock wore off, we weren't all that surprised about Douglas' actions. It is, after all, the almost inevitable byproduct of a philosophy which believes the capitalist system can be made more palatable by tinkering reformism, rather than replacement or ever substantial alterations.

"The NDP has truly 'arrived'. One of their boys is Governor General. Another has now launched a corporate career. If the next announcement we hear is the appointment of Stanley Knowles to the Senate, we won't even bat an eye."

Forward classes discuss economics for socialists

In Canada, we find ourselves enmeshed in a serious debate within the NDP over the issue of a strategic program. The reformist leadership, adheres to the now-discredited concepts of mixed economy, better management of the capitalist state, and "nationalization if necessary but not necessarily nationalization." Critical and class-conscious socialists, on the other hand, seek public ownership of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy under a system of workers' control in a workers' state.

In response to this growing debate, the Forward Group undertook a class series on Marxist Economic Theory in Toronto this spring. The classes were based on the book **Marxist Economics for Socialists—A Critique of Reformism** by a British Marxist activist, John Harrison. The book was chosen because it was directed to Labour Party members.

Utilizing the structure of the book, the classes were divided into three parts.

The first class was presented by Harry Kopyto, active in the Wilson Heights NDP riding. He focussed on the debate between Proudhon and the young Marx. Marx had concentrated on a scientific analysis of capitalist economy in order to politically criticize the "bourgeois socialists" led by Proudhon, and to demonstrate that the objective nature of capitalist social relations are unequal and coercive and cannot be reformed.

The second talk, presented by Ellie Kirzner, a socialist activist from St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP, dealt with the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. She reviewed the progressive role of early capitalism, which laid the foundation for expanding the productive forces. She also described how capitalism began to provide sufficient surplus to create relatively privileged categories of workers, who became the basis of a new type of reformism, whose chief theoretician was Edward Bernstein, an ex-Marxist German social-democrat.

Bernstein argued that monopolies could overcome the crises that came from capital accumulation and declining profitability, because he believed in the monopolies' ability to mitigate these effects through planning and cartels. The fallacy of his position was pointed out by Lenin and demonstrated by the fierce capitalist competition that led to wars and revolutions.

The last class was given by Gord Doctorow of Oriole riding, and centred on the period referred to as "late capitalism", from 1945 to the present. Post-war reformism had a new lease on life, with two decades of unprecedented and unbroken expansion of the world's capitalist productive forces. Keynes' theory of government management of the economy to prevent crises became incorporated into the ideological baggage of social democrats, like the pro-capitalist theoretician Anthony Crosland of the British Labour Party (who greatly influenced the leaders of the CCF in Canada).

Social Democratic theory assumed the state could be used as a neutral instrument of planning. Its goal was the redistribution of wealth. It seemed that the Marxist notion of crises stemming from over-accumulation and from the class struggle was outmoded.

The class concluded with a discussion of the serious new problems facing the world capitalist economies and the inability of reformist schemes to meet them. It stressed the significance of the left-right debates taking place in social-democratic and labour parties around the world, especially in the NDP in Canada. The success of this class series has led to the scheduling of another class based on Wallace Clement's book **Continental Corporate Power.** For information on this and future classes, call Forward at (416) 366-2059 or write c/o **Forward.**

Forward Books

A summer selection from our stock

William Irvine, the life of a prairie radical by A. Mardiros $9.95

The Compassionate Rebel, E. Winch & the growth of socialism in Western Canada by Dorothy Steeves $5.95

Leninism under Lenin by M. Liebman $14.95 recommended by Ernest Mandel & Ralph Miliband, Lenin's last struggle against Stalin "makes plain the meaning of Leninism as a conception and outlook that are thoroughly democratic in character." —from the author's epilogue.

My Life by Leon Trotsky $6.95

The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg, by N. Geras $11.00

order with cheque or money order from

FORWARD BOOKS
121 Church St., (at Queen)
Toronto M5C 2G5

Fund Drive bogs down *Forward* needs a hand

by the Editors

Forward's modest fundraising goal of $5,000 for the next year's publishing schedule requires an immediate response from our supporters. To date, we have only managed to garner pledges and funds totalling $2,000.

Ironically, the paper has been getting an excellent response in the form of new subscriptions and in public distributions. But this has yet to be matched by a comparable response in terms of financial solidarity.

No doubt part of the problem lies in the fact that we have only published one appeal to our readers — in the April-May issue. The long delay in the publishing of this issue of **Forward** is a result of our inability to publish in time for the ONDP Convention in June because of our staff members' heavy involvement in preconvention preparations and discussions.

So we appeal to you, our readers, to take a moment right now, as you are reading this column, to send us a cheque or money order to **Forward**, Box 778, Adelaide St. Post Office, Toronto, Ont., M5C 2K1.

Remember, **Forward** is our collective paper speaking for socialism in the NDP, labor and other movements for social justice. Our small staff's efforts to continue the organizing and production of **Forward** speaks to the interests of massive numbers. We need your help. Please help now.

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 6 No. 4 [43] ISSN 0700-9038 Oct.-Nov. 1980 Toronto 25 cents

No end in sight for constitutional crisis

by John Darling

In what amounts to a constitutional coup d'état, the Liberal government in Ottawa has decided to unilaterally enshrine, as the fundamental law of Canada, the outdated British North America Act—England's colonial statute governing her Dominion, half-forgotten, under the keep of Royal Beefeaters in a London tower. Prime Minister Trudeau has decreed patriation by July 1981—in the same manner it was made law in 1867—over the objections of many of the provinces, and with the profound misgivings of the Québécois, the Native Peoples, and many other Canadians.

Energy Minister Chretien attempted to defend Ottawa's actions as honoring "a solemn commitment to the people of Quebec" to provide renewed federalism—but the "renewal" will be at Quebec's expense. Instead of giving Quebec more autonomy, and protecting its language and culture within Confederation, the patriated BNA Act will be interpreted so that part of the Parti Québécois Charter of the French Language will be disallowed to ensure all North American anglophones access to English schools in Quebec.

Premier Lévesque attacked patriation of the BNA Act as a "flagrant betrayal of hopes for renewal of federalism" which threatened Quebec's "first line of defence of its identity." Liberal opposition leader Ryan split with Trudeau and opposed unilateral patriation as destructive of federalism. **Le Devoir's** editor, who voted No in the referendum, declared Ottawa's actions "must be condemned...(they) have the appearance of a swindle." One of Trudeau's federal Québécois backbenchers, disgusted, rose in opposition. MP Louis Duclos declared: "I want English Canada to know this commitment is not what we promised Quebeckers during the referendum."

The Native Peoples—who hold the oldest grievances and claims—were left out in the cold throughout the entire process. Refusing to be considered non-persons, ten have forged a common front including three Native groups: The Native Council of Canada, the National Indian Brotherhood and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Through previous lobbying and visits to England, they have won the support of British Labour Party MP Bruce George who has threatened to oppose patriation of the BNA Act without additional recognition of Native rights.

ideau's eye these centralized state establishes. It's Britain's imperial g together the her far-flung and its para-

→p.2

Polish labor unity consolidates gains

by Harry Kopyto

As we go to press, 10 million Polish workers have won in their bid to defend the gains made by them in their struggle for workers' power this summer.

The massive trade union federation which grew out of the general strike of August was poised to strike again should the Polish Supreme Court uphold a decision to have clauses weakening the federation's political independence and right to strike included in their constitution.

This attempt to castrate the Solidarity federation, which has now come to embrace 10 million workers, was made in concert with a coordinated campaign to discredit the leaders of the trade union struggle. East German and Czechoslovakian official papers in early November attacked the "counter-revolutionaries" who led the strike wave for presenting unrealizable demands to the government for economic and social improvements. Jacek Kuron was singled out as the head of an "anti-state organization."

Kuron, leader of the Self-Defence Committee (KOR) which had promoted the struggle for workers' power among unionists for several years, emerged as a leading intellectual spokesperson for the working class in its August strike. A revolutionary socialist since 1964, he has developed a trenchant analysis of the dynamics of the struggle for socialist democracy in Poland. Though arrested with his co-thinkers at the height of the struggle, the backing he received forced the regime to release him.

Jacek Kuron (left) and Adam Michnik, leaders of the Polish opposition.

As Polish TV features film footage of Soviet war maneuvres, it is clear that the ongoing campaign to force back the massive impetus for workers' control must be defended by an equally massive response of solidarity with the Polish movement for socialist democracy.

Inside This Issue

Br.Labour goes left p.2

RCMP supplement p.3-4

NDP and Quebec ... p.5

How can labor stop layoffs?

by the Editors

Plant shutdowns and deep production cutbacks in industry after industry across Canada are continuing to take their toll of workers. The number in Ontario on "indefinite layoff" doubled the first nine months of this year compared to last year, to reach 16,807, according to a report given to the Select Committee on Plant Shutdowns by Ontario Labour Minister Elgie.

The Tory minister dismisses the figures of 56 more shutdowns and 11 more partial closures as not marking any significant rise, relegating them to the status of merely a contributory factor in the mounting unemployment labelled "temporary layoffs." That he could attempt such an obvious ruse only points up the fact that plant closures and production cutbacks have become a way of life under capitalism here. Canada's resources and primary manufacturing industries, largely branch plant operations of U.S. corporate owners and/or their Canadian junior partners, are becoming increasingly expendable as the slump in the world capitalist economy continues to deepen.

The 675 workers at the Arrowhead Metals operation, who two years ago were conned into accepting wage cuts to save the operation, have now settled a seven-month strike and gone back to work — but with their ranks cut in half. The tube mill workers have been scrapped, along with the machinery. Autoworker Local 1067 has just settled a seven-month strike at the Milton and Chatham operations of Rockwell International (Canada) "with a gun at our heads" — the gun was the threat of complete shutdown. As it is, only 80 of the Milton plant workers will return — 380 of their number and the entire 580 at the Chatham plant have been permanently laid off. Local 1067 has been literally blown away. More and more contracts at feet-under-the-table or across-the-picket line negotiations find the spectre of shutdown and lock-out at the bosses' side.

The workers want to fight back. This is apparent from the 12,000 who rallied from across southern Ontario in the massive October 18 demonstration at Toronto's Queen's Park, and from the inspiring plant occupations of autoworkers at Houdaille, Oshawa, and electrical workers at Tunsol International in Brampton. But the leadership has not presented a program or a central demand that meets the challenge of the situation and can stimulate mass struggle in a direction that can win.

The upfront demands at Queen's Park — public justification of shutdowns, advance notice, better severance pay, and pension portability — are not preventive. Not only do they fail to pose an alternative to shutdowns, they implicitly accept them. Even if won they would give only temporary succor, and not even to all of the victims. And they would solve nothing.

The last ditch plant occupations at Oshawa and Brampton, even after all but a scattering of older workers had been dismissed, roused nation-wide enthusiasm and even international attention. Oshawa was once again fuelling the liberatory passions and hopes that the CIO inspired in the midst of the Thirties. The worker-occupiers, over the name plates of the owners, hung the defiant banner UAW-CIO-CLC. They organized tours proudly showing off the tools that they had created and explaining their flexibility and capacity to make many other products besides metal bumpers. UAW Canadian Director Robert White called for government seizure of the company's assets. But only to liquidate them in order to provide a better pension

Continued on Page 2

NDP slate takes hold in Toronto civic elections

by Gord Doctorow

This November's municipal election in Metro Toronto marked a big advance for the NDP as a municipal force. NDPers accounted for 58 of the candidates—more than ever before—ranging from trustees to aldermen to a mayoralty candidate. While not all of these were openly identified with the party, twice the number of nominated candidates were running on the party label than in 1978, according to Metro New Democrats chairman John Argue. Election results confirm that the NDP is now a live force in municipal politics.

The Metro Toronto Labor Council also endorsed these candidates. Teachers' federations endorsed many of the NDP Trustee contenders, and in the City of Toronto, the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation District 15 endorsed all the

→p.3

Canada's constitutional crisis requires constituent assembly

p-2

In Ottawa, the NDP has barely made the record on Quebec's and Native rights, but NDP Inuit MP Peter Ittinuar warns that no protection of Native language and culture is proposed. An Open Letter from the Indian People of Grand Council Treaty #3 in Northwestern Ontario demanded Trudeau add to the proposed Bill of Rights: first, that their treaty and aboriginal rights be formally recognized (Natives are still being arrested for fishing for consumption); second, that parliament and the provincial legislatures not have the power to deprive them of their collective rights; and third, that in amending the constitution, Indian people be involved in matters that affect them.

Pauline Jewett (NDP, New Westminster) denounced the proposed Bill of Rights for lacking "any guarantee or mention of women's human right to equality." Even the president of the federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Doris Anderson, criticized Ottawa for "using family law as a chip in a poker game."

The gleam in Trudeau's eye these days is the unitary, centralized state that the BNA Act establishes. It's the embodiment of Britain's imperial apron-strings tying together the administration of her far-flung Dominion. Ottawa, and its paramilitary arm, the RCMP, "galvanized" the wilderness into profitability—and today this same central government plays the key role—but as junior partners of the American collosus. The BNA Act does not concern itself with Quebec's, or Native or women's rights, but it does protect the English language where required—in French Quebec. Most important, the Act, like a colonial statute if not a true constitution, lays down the key economic powers in the palms of Ottawa, even while it accords formal "ownership" of resources to the provinces.

This is the root cause of today's constitutional logjam: the centralist and unitary nature of the BNA Act—destined by the will of the Liberal government to become our all-pervading constitution.

Unfortunately, it was the leadership of the Canadian labor party, the NDP, which has acted as willing collaborators with Trudeau by condoning and legitimatizing the whole shady scenario. In Ottawa, Broadbent—a victim of his fetish for "strong central government"—allowed the Prime Minister to move ahead by assuring NDP support. Only with the collusion of NDP Premier Blakeney could Trudeau dare to break with the tradition of federal-provincial unanimity in asking the British to patriate the BNA Act.

Federal leader Broadbent's "conditional" support for Trudeau's patriation package has effectively disarmed the NDP nationally and caused a rift with Saskatchewan Premier Blakeney, who, while he has refused to go along with Quebec, Alberta and Newfoundland to test the Ottawa plan in the courts, has nevertheless expressed serious doubts about other aspects. On the federal plan to hold a referendum if the provinces cannot agree on an amending formula once the BNA Act is patriated, NDP MP Lorne Nystrom has opposed it as "loaded dice," designed to paint the provinces as money-hungry at the same time Ottawa is skimming off the cream of resource revenues through new export taxes. A federal referendum would be an orchestrated campaign to augment Ottawa's powers, and create roadblocks to nationalization of resources, as in Saskatchewan and Quebec.

Broadbent's "victory" in getting Trudeau to agree to provincial ownership of resources turned out to be pyrrhic. Although Saskatchewan won the right to impose an indirect oil tax, Trudeau's "ownership" concession meant only control over internal management of resources, but as the new budget made clear, retains Ottawa's control over price-setting and national distribution—roughly the status quo.

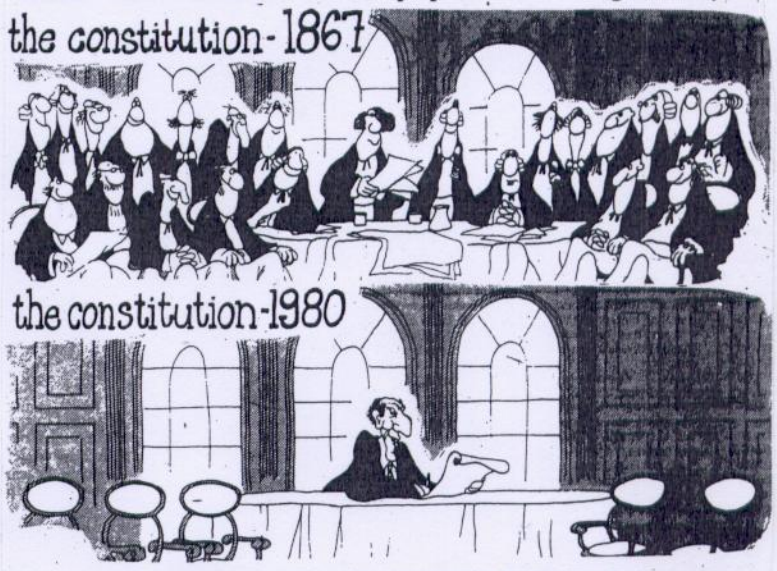
Alberta's lone NDP-MP, Grant Notley, instead of ridiculing Lougheed's provincial referendum law, and stupidly labelling it "separatist", should understand that Albertans' support for their Tory Premier is based on their fear of an Ottawa resource rip-off, and their real fear that Ottawa represents eastern interests (it's not for nothing that Ontario Premier Davis has broken ranks with the federal Tories and supports Trudeau to the hilt). Notley should point to the example of Saskatchewan's takeover of the potash companies, public ownership being the real way to end "western alienation". Patriation of the constitution calls for patriation of the economy, and control by the people of the provinces over their resources. "One form of decolonialization deserves another," as William Blaikie (NDP-Winnipeg) said.

Perhaps the most serious long-range consequence of the NDP leadership's mistaken support of Trudeau's patriation package is the backward step that will be taken with the entrenchment of his "Bill of Rights." Alan Borovoy of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association echoed the concern of many that our rights may actually be diminished in this measure placing them in the hands of the conservative, appointed judges of the courts, and out of the hands of the elected representatives in Parliament and the legislatures—witness the emasculation of the Diefenbaker Bill of Rights since its promulgation.

In the eyes of civil libertarian Clayton Ruby, Trudeau's Bill of Rights would be "completely useless", subjecting as it does all rights and freedoms of Canadians to "such reasonable limits as are generally accepted in a free and democratic society with a parliamentary system of government," as the Bill would read.

The War Measures Act would, in Ruby's opinion be perpetuated by this clause, especially since Trudeau defends invoking the WMA in 1970 without any shame, justifying it and obviously intending to perpetuate it. Chiding the lawyers among the NDP MPs, Ruby wonders how they cannot recognize this "outright sham".

A Bill of Rights, and a new constitution which lays the foundations of patriating the economy instead of an inadequate, unjust relic like the BNA Act, is the work that only the mass of Canadians can democratically and effectively undertake.



forward #43

Lib-Tory coalition boots Sewell, but

NDP civic slate takes hold

p. 3

NDP candidates. Even the seemingly impregnable suburbs were penetrated by a scattering of NDP-nominated and endorsed candidates. Open NDP candidates were declared in areas adjacent to Metro, in Peel and Thornhill.

Much of the Metro New Democrats push is attributable to the growing economic crisis which is producing deteriorating services, like daycare, as the need for these services grow among a growing sector of unemployed, poor, working mothers, and immigrant groups. Metro Labor Council, in defence of the jobs and working conditions of its union membership, whose jobs are tied directly or indirectly to municipal policies, has helped to build and sustain Metro New Democrats as its political vehicle.

The working class alternative has thus become prominent at City Hall, causing no small consternation for closet Liberal-Tory reactionaries who denounced the NDP's intervention as an attack against the interests of the neighbourhoods in deference to the needs of a political party. The recently adopted and published reform program of Metro New Democrats, of course, belies these absurd pretensions in its clear thrust towards expanding social services, co-operative and state-provided housing, tenants' rights, civil rights, civilian control of the police, education reforms, etc.

Yet it must be said that there was a serious weakness in the party's failure to put forward nominated

Continued on page 7

Continued from Page 1

NDP mayoralty candidates. This left the campaign isolated in ridings and without a central focus to publicize, centralize and dramatize the campaign. Gus Harris in Scarborough, an NDP member, ran as an independent. John Sewell, in Toronto, ran as the leader of "shifting coalitions," abandoned by former high-powered supporters from the Liberal-Torie machines— who perched in his right-wing opponent's campaign. While it is true that both Sewell and Harris hold many of

Dan Heap, successful NDP candidate.

the same reform positions as the NDP, it is also true that they lacked the single most important trait of the NDP campaigns—the organized political expression of the working class pitted against the system of the big business political stooges.

In fact, Sewell explicity attacked the NDP's municipal entry on the grounds that he preferred to be accountable to "shifting coalitions" reflecting diverse concerns rather than to a political program. He pitted the accountability of the individual against that of the party. In this fundamental respect, he undetermined the legitimacy of the NDP party strategy at precisely the time when right-wing candidates were hammering the NDP for its entry into municipal politics.

Ironically, some downtown NDP ward organizations acquiesced to Sewell's line by campaigning for him while Sewell refused to be bound by the NDP's program or its goals. In addition to violating their responsibility to present the working class alternative to the system at City Hall, these wards were violating party policy. Earlier this year, a convention of the Metro New Democrats debated and democratically adopted the policy that party organizations should refrain from supporting candidates who are not members of the NDP and who refuse to be held accountable to its program. Sewell failed both criteria.

Participants in this Metro NDP convention pointed out that the Tory machine rules Metro through the provincial government's control of funding, through its power of appointment of the metro chairman and through the Ontario Municipal Board. And also through its network of "independent" politicians who maintain the facade of political independence while rooting the Tory base in the communities.

The NDP strategy attacks Tory power at all levels and unites all the aspects of workers' struggles so that truly effective challenges can be mounted.

Former Toronto alderman Michael Goldrick (1973-6), who has developed a systematic critique of municipal reform politics based on his experiences in Sewell's coalition and on historical analysis, came out emphatically for municipal party politics. He attributed the failure of the reformers grouped in Sewell's Reform Caucus to their lack of "ideological glue," stating that they couldn't work out issues on the basis of a clear common position. He argued that accountability could only be achieved when politicians were responsible to a party program and party constituency organizations which could counteract the anti-socialist pressures that exist in City Hall. In his view, the narrow neighbourhood issues have to be recast in terms of the broad common interests of working people across the neighborhoods to build solidarity against big business interests and provincial government cutbacks.

Fortunately, this election marked only the beginning of what promises to be a fruitful political experience. the NDP will need to deepen its roots for electoral advantage and will find new sources in the ongoing struggles of working people and those who suffer humiliation and oppression. With a new infusion of such municipal activists, the party's ideological character and program will be reshaped.

forward
#43 Oct 1980

NDP riding proposes constitution convention

As an informational service to our readers, we reprint the brief "Canada — it's you and me!" presented to the Federal Council of the NDP by the Ottawa West NDP club on Sept. 7.

Thank you for taking the time to consider our special presentation and to hear us on this extraordinary subject.

We realize that it may not be customary for individual riding associations to be directly heard by this council, but you must also recognize that the subject under consideration is of sufficient importance to each one of us and to the party as a whole that custom should perhaps be dispensed with on this occasion.

We have read the interim report of the constitutional relations committee and we find the subject of **process** barely touched upon. We do not agree that a limited public participation report on the part of the first ministers would be at all adequate or sufficient. For the party to adopt this kind of position is a travesty of first principles, of the principles for which the party stands. Better to say nothing at all at this juncture!

We have also been informed of the second position which the council is being asked to consider today, the position to be taken in the case of the inevitable failure of the first ministers' talks. Frankly, this position has been usurped by the recent pronouncements of the PCs; and the NDP would be seen to be in a 'Me too' position were it put forward.

There is but one position that this party can put forward. Although it is a point of view which is not without its own complications, and one which may attract scorn from a variety of establishment sources, it is the only one which concords with the principles and philosophy for which this party stands. This position is the recommendation that a **constitutional convention** be established and handed the mandate to produce a new constitution for Canada. The technicalities of establishing this convention we leave to your imagination and inventiveness.

Why is democratisation necessary?

1. Because every Canadian has a personal stake in a revised constitution.
2. Because a revised constitution should be a document to last for the next 100 years.
3. Because a constitution — the basic framework of our political co-existence — is not a subject which falls within the purview of governments, but of the people to be governed by it.
4. Because discussions on the constitution should be open and all-encompassing rather than restricted to just a few topics by vested interests.
5. Because any process of constitutional discussion will perforce be inadequate and insufficient unless the people are given full part and weight.
6. Because all jurisdictions, all powers, and the entire framework of governance in this country should be discussed openly and revised according to the resolution of those discussions, all within an accepted time-frame.
7. Because the introduction of secrecy into these discussions is totally unnecessary, inimical to an open and full discussion of the issues, and an insult to Canadians everywhere.
8. Because an open and democratic process of constitutional revision can generate interest and excitement, can give Canadians an enhanced sense of themselves as a nation which would be unprecedented.
9. Because the important business of government across this land is being neglected while governments fiddle, whereas a specially designated constituent convention would have no other mandate or responsibility to perform. We would thus be assured of efficiency in both arenas.

Why should the NDP adopt a position calling for a constitutional convention?

A. Because this is the only democratic way to approach constitutional revision and this party is the only truly democratic party in the federal system.

B Because there is an underlying national unhappiness with the process to date and the party could begin to lead that growing segment of Canadians.

C. Because many of the members of the party across the nation are expecting this kind of innovative leadership from the party.

D. Because the emphasis on process would put the NDP in the forefront of Canadian political life, showing to all Canadians the capacity of the party to put non-partisan national interest first.

E. Because the emphasis on process at this stage would serve to delay or obviate the need for the party to engage in divisive internal debate in order to arrive at positions on substance.

F. Because the insistence on democratic and fundamental participation coupled with a realistic time-frame would serve to focus the current debate on the real needs and motives of constitutional reform rather than allowing the current focus on Trudeau's needs and timetable to continue.

Thanks and good luck,
Ottawa West NDP

forward #43 oct 1980

Prospects of NDP discussed in Quebec

by Wayne Roberts

"The ND What?," asks the October issue of **L'actualité**, the French-language version of Maclean's magazine in Quebec.

The article begins with the story of T.C. Douglas' visit to Quebec in 1965. Closely flanked by translators, Douglas appeared almost bilingual. Left alone for a moment, he was given firm instructions to shake hands, smile and say "enchanté" when anyone approached him. Asked about U.S. intervention in Vietnam, Douglas offered a vigorous "enchanté." The formulas of the NDP leadership, it appears, have never worked well in Quebec.

Quebec is the "achilles heel of the NDP," **L'actualité** argues. The party can never hope to make a breakthrough in federal politics until it can win seats in Quebec. Yet the party suffers from "the quiet resistance of French Quebeckers to all the approaches of a party invariably seen as foreign." (Translation here and elsewhere is by Forward:WR)

In a useful review of the Quebec NDP's pitifully small size and irrelevance to the fact that "in Quebec, the NDP is...the PQ." The "living forces of the NDP have passed into the nationalist movement," explains leading activist Jacques Guay. "Almost all the people of our milieu and generation are PQers," admits Jean Pierre Bourdouxhe, current secretary-general of the NDP in Quebec. Yet the party had to abstain from last spring's referendum campaign, lest a position one way or the other split the party in two.

The Fall 1980 issue of the Quebec **NDP newsletter Le démocrate, gives** no grounds for optimism. A lead article by party president Jean-Denis Lavigne notes that "the role of a political party which has no roots on the provincial scene is particularly difficult to fill." Lavigne hopes that the party can establish a presence when federal NDP MP's oppose unilateral repatriation of the constitution. He has been assured that the NDP will do so.

In another article, Bourdouxhe notes that "it has always been difficult to contradict the statement that the NDP is the most centralist of Canadian parties." He hopes that the new constitutional committee of the party will set that problem right. At present, the NDP only recognizes Quebec's right to complete jurisdiction in cultural affairs. Bourdouxhe expects that the new proposals will grant Quebec "the possibility of taking in hand our own economic development."

Another article (not to mention the positions of the NDP parliamentary leadership on the constitutional debate) throws cold water on these hopes. Writing only in English, Bill Roberts, a special aid to Ed Broadbent, outlines his vision of a constitution which will declare certain economic areas subject to "concurrence of jurisdiction for both orders of legislatures, with one being given paramountcy in the event of conflicting legislation."

This "solution" to avoiding the question of Quebec autonomy is not likely to be welcomed either in Quebec or even Saskatchewan. Both provinces confronted federal government stonewalling when they challenged multinational corporations.

Needless to say, the article neglects to mention the fact that Ontario and federal NDP conventions have rejected the right of Quebec to self-determination.

NDP leaders cop out of B.C. ban-the-bomb rally

"Where were New Democrats? Politicians' absence hit...and hit again," announced a headline in the October 1980 British Columbia Democrat. *As an informational service to our readers, we reprint excerpts from one of the letters.*

On Saturday, 9 August, the Comox Valley Nuclear Responsibility Group, with the support of numerous peace and environmental groups in the province, staged a successful rally at Canadian Forces Base Comox, protesting the presence there of nuclear weapons and demanding the removal of such weapons from Canadian soil everywhere ...

Not surprisingly, there was a fly in the ointment:

There was no official recognition of this protest by the NDP.

Incredible!

The recorded policy of this party (the one I belong to and have supported all of my voting years) is for the removal of all nuclear weapons from Canadian soil.

Where were you, Broadbent, Barrett, Skelly and Sanford?

You weren't there in the flesh and you weren't there in the spirit.

You were not there.

Not a word. No message. No delegate. No telegram. No letter. No support.

Bluntly, a boycott.

That's a message in itself and it is one (*which*) was perceived with considerable impact ...

My own message is this: I'm disappointed and angry.

So far, my contribution to the party has consisted of my vote, my membership, my time during election campaigns, my faith in the ideals and aims of the NDP.

I'm going to give it more.

I'm going to work to get people in the power positions of our party who will direct it in the tradition of J.S. Woodsworth, Ernie Winch and Tommy Douglas; who will stand by their own and the party's principles and win votes through integrity, rather than expediency, even if that takes a millenium ...

I hope this letter, combined with all the others I am sure you will receive, will help you get back on the NDP road.

Betty Jeffries
1120 First Street
Courteney.

Socialist policies posed—*Sask. Commonwealth*

"Isn't the solution to this federal/provincial confrontation simply socialism and shouldn't we, I mean New Democrats, be saying something about it?" Skip Hambling, writing in the NDP's Saskatchewan **Commonwealth**, reminds Premier Blakeney and party leader Ed Broadbent that all their horse-trading with Trudeau over the "ownership" of resources in return for acceptance of the constitutional package, besides damaging the credibility of the NDP, is beside the point—for socialists.

The **Commonwealth** editorial adds: "On the matter of civil rights and freedoms: shouldn't we as socialists be asking Trudeau to add... the right to work and the right to medical care," just for starters. But we, the people, aren't even going to get a chance to discuss the Bill of Rights.

"You see, my idea is that here we have this nationwide forum... all anyone can come up with are tired old reworkings of capitalist attitudes. And so far," Hambling laments, "we socialists have pretty well fallen into their trap."

forward #43 Oct 1980

Broadbent uses Poland to justify pro-NATO drive

by Harry Kopyto

Broadbent's visit to Poland in August, which could have been used to extend the solidarity of Canadian working people to their Polish brethern and to explain the real meaning of socialist democracy, was used instead to distort the nature of the Polish struggle and to justify the network of cold war alliances.

Broadbent saw the Polish struggle as one for "free trade unions," just as we have here in Canada (ask Parrot about that one). He utterly failed to understand that it was workers' power — the right to run the plants through democratic institutions free from bureaucratic domination — that was really on the agenda.

Broadbent used his Polish visit to reaffirm his desire to reverse the NDP's twelve-year-old policy advocating Canada's withdrawal from NATO. He argued that, "realistically," "disarmament" has to be pursued through the instruments of the great power blocks which are now organized into alliances — NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This constitutes a wholesale rationale of the imperialist cold war alliance network.

The idea that military alliances are the appropriate method to achieve peace is nothing more than a justification for the "balance of terror" policy that the U.S. has been pursuing for several decades. Such a concept justifies Canada's connections to the U.S. war machine and the arms build-up directed against the colonial world and the Soviet and East European workers' states.

At the same time, Broadbent implicitly provided a justification for continued Soviet domination of the East European bloc countries, including Poland. Instead of identifying with the democratic socialist impulses of the Polish working class, he has affirmed his policy of "armed détente" rationalizing the domination by the Soviet bureaucracy over Poland in military and political affairs.

Broadbent's position contrasts miserably with that of Tony Benn, leader of the left forces which won the recent British Labour Party conference to a position of unilateral disarmament.

"I think what's happened in Poland is relevant here," he told **Socialist Challenge** on September 25. "To take it at its lowest, if I were asked what was the best defense strategy for Britain, by comparing the siting of Cruise missiles here, targeted on Warsaw, with the development of the democratic movement and the trade unions in Poland, there is no doubt that the latter would be a better defense policy strategy. I think all these things are coming together."

Back strikers — NDP club

As an informational service, we reprint this telegram sent to Ed Broadbent during his vacation in Poland by the Dovercourt NDP club, on August 22.

Dear Ed;

Please express our strong feelings of solidarity to the Polish workers of Gdansk and hundreds of other factories currently on strike.

The struggle of Polish workers for economic justice, free trade unions, freedom of expression, and the end of bureaucratic privilege, is a struggle which all progressive Canadian workers identify with and support.

Similiarly, democratic socialists in Canada share the desire of Polish workers for the establishment of a democratic socialist state in Poland, a state in which the working class exerts real power and ultimate control.

Fraternally,
Dovercourt NDP General Meeting
August 22/80

forward #43 Oct 1980

Sudbury NDP leaders urge public ownership

by Wayne Roberts

Should the trillium, Ontario's official emblem, be depicted as a triangle? Should other designs of trilliums (or trillia) be requested?

The lead-off discussions on election planning strategy at the Ontario NDP provincial council meeting on October 18 was caught up in trillia trivia for over half an hour, as delegates groped for some input into the flower-power marketing mania being foisted on the party by its Election Planning Committee, working under the advice of an advertising agency which specializes in marketing.

Once logos and symbols had been discussed, the 150 delegates advanced to a discussion of issues to be emphasized during the campaign. The leadership presented its position of focussing on health, de-industrialization and women in such a way that the public would be re-assured of the NDP's "moderation" in all things.

This orientation was challenged by a group of leading Sudbury activists, including Elie Martel, MPP, Floyd Laughren, MPP, Cameron Hopkins, ONDP vice-president, John Rodriguez, ONDP executive, Simon Rosenblum and Harvey Wyers. Their document, entitled "Which Way Forward?—A challenge to the election planning committee" gained the support of approximately 40% of delegates. Plans are afoot to circulate the document among Ontario riding associations with a view to having the issue re-opened.

The brief points out that the NDP election platform is virtually indistinguishable from the Liberals'. "Do we have genuine alternatives to the policies of the old line parties? and are we prepared to state these alternatives and fight for them?" the document challenges.

The NDP must show itself capable of financing its extensive social welfare schemes, the document argues, by restructuring "the Ontario economy in a manner that produces new wealth..."

In this vein, the document calls for a campaign emphasis on the resources issue. "What is essential is that our primary resources be used as a lever for development...and this demands that our resource industries be brought under public ownership." Efforts to regulate resource companies will inevitably fail because they will out-manoeuvre all regulations by "highgrading" and other wasteful but high-profit, short-term techniques. "Public ownership of natural resource industries is necessary so that they may be a lever for development (of related secondary industries) instead of the domain of multi-national giants whose interests, rarely, if ever, coincide with our own."

In the manufacturing sector, the authors call for "much more than government inducements and joint ventures." In particular, they call for the party to honor the June convention decision to place growth sectors under public ownership. "The private sector has had over fifty years to develop such secondary manufacturing. It is now up to the public sector to take the initiative and begin the job."

The major section of the document concludes with this call:

"Ontario now faces a real crisis in its economy. We are at an economic and political crossroads. We must be bold and not allow the public to view the three political parties as Tweedledum, Tweedledee and Tweedle-n-dee-pee. The NDP stands alone as a political party capable of creating meaningful jobs for Ontario workers and socialism stands alone as a political perspective capable of developing the necessary policy. Socialism is an idea whose time has come. The NDP must be the vehicle."

Floyd Laughren MPP wants change in election strategy.

This document has launched an important debate and promises to involve rank and file New Democrats in critical discussions around NDP election strategy. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that at least two of the signatories, Laughren and Martel, were used by the NDP leadership at the June convention to defend the leadership's industrial strategy, which offered at best token gestures toward public ownership. Martel went so far as to accuse the left of being politically suicidal. Now, that compromise between the right and "centre" has proved unworkable. The possibility of a mass-based opposition to the leadership's suicidal market strategy is before us.

forward #34 Oct 1980

Labour Party turns to peace, grassroots control, socialism

by Robert Kasher

A sweeping change described as "irreversible" by many papers in Britain has both opened up the Labour Party to more democratic participation by its militant membership and given it a fighting program that will stand as a real alternative to Margaret Thatcher's bankrupt policies.

The fall convention at Blackpool called for mandatory re-selection of the party leader through a new, democratic electoral college. Previously the leader was chosen exclusively by the Parliamentary caucus. As well, re-selection of Labour MP's by their constituency associations was entrenched in the Labour Party's constitution.

These victories in democratizing the party have been actively opposed by the Labour Party leadership. They are important to a party and trade union membership tired of bearing the ever-increasing burdens of the British economy. While Britain has been put on the ropes by Thatcher's unflinching destruction of the welfare state, the rightward drift began under Labour's last government, a point not forgotten by delegates to this year's convention.

Besides reforming internal practices, Labour's membership voted to put forward a socialist program to combat Thatcher's disastrous policies. Renationalization of many companies and the further nationalization of Britain's leading concerns —including banks, manufacturing companies, resource, insurance and utilities — will be an immediate priority of a future Labour government.

In order to prevent a rear-guard action by the Conservative Party to block such legislation in the House of Lords, the Labour delegates voted to abolish this refuge of British privilege.

Labour Party delegates also reasserted the Labour Party's program for unilateral disarmament. This movement has a wide-reaching base in Britain. Both the Liberals and Conservatives have had to beat back grassroots attempts at passing similar resolutions in their parties.

Led by the British scholar and author E.P. Thompson, the movement crystalizes anti-war sentiment in a Britain where social service cutbacks are being used to pay for an increased defense posture that is putting Britain into America's nuclear front lines.

With unemployment running at record highs, social services disastrously curtailed and Britain's Labour Party leading the Conservatives by 11% in the polls, it is clear that the British people are tired of seeing their standard of living shrunk and their families out of work. The Labour Party's manifesto offers the British people a real chance to break Britain's economy out of the deadlock that years of neglect and financial milking created.

Labour Party youth hold building action for mass demonstration against unemployment.

How did the Labour Left organize the rank and file?

Contrary to the view of journalists like Norman Webster of the **Globe and Mail**, the victory of the left was not an undemocratic victory smacking of what right-wing MP Shirley Williams called "left-wing fascism."

The left is a broadly-based grassroots movement in both constituency associations and trade unions. New members have moved into moribund ridings and union locals and helped turn many of them into some of Labour's most active groups.

An example is the Wokingham Riding Association. Through political action campaigns around plant closings, social service cutbacks, racism and disarmament, membership quadrupled and the Labour Party vote doubled in the past five years.

Not to be outdone, activists in Cardiff, South Wales, campaigned throughout September against layoffs that are raining down at the rate of 1,000 per week. The riding added 200 new members during the campaign.

In another area, the Lothian Region Labour Party Group, with the backing of Labour municipal councillors, defied a court injunction and physically prevented a NATO "wargame" from taking place in the area.

The Labor Party Young Socialists, an explicitly Marxist organization, is now building toward a late-Fall demonstration of 10,000 against unemployment. Over the last year, 50 new branches brought the total number of branches up to 454. Following one TV broadcast, LPYS recruited 2,000 new members.

Obviously the recent victory of the left is not something that occurred overnight. It is a trend built on patient, painstaking work at the grassroots that is finally paying off. While working at the grassroots has given the left a popular base, its success as a political force within the party has been based on a different kind of work.

The Labour left has been built around a number of national groups that helped wield diverse areas and ridings into a powerful national caucus. National newspapers like the **Militant** and the **Tribune** initiated discussions within the left that increased its political consciousness and provided it with a political nervous system allowing it to develop a strong and systematic presence in the party. These papers, along with the Labour Party Young Socialists, provided a rallying point for national caucuses and an organizational basis to consolidate the results of diverse and often-isolated riding association work.

On September 25, left leader Tony Benn commented on the central role of the Rank and File Mobilising Committee which united all dissident groups for the convention fight.

"The great weakness of the left has been its traditions. Both outside and even inside the party there has been a great splinter activity: the Women's Fightback, the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory, and so on. What to me was extremely pleasing was that the left suddenly realised that you can't win if you're fighting in penny-packets. You've got to come together.

"All of a sudden, and very much to my surprise, there was the development of the Mobilising Committee in May.

"When the Militant tendency came in to the Mobilising Committee, which I think is important, all of a sudden it began to come alive. This is the process of building the general coalition of the left, with the women's movement, the black groups, the ecological groups, the peace movement and so on.

"It will be needed first of all within the Labour Party and the labour movement, and it then becomes the launching pad for carrying this outside the Labour Party to win support. It would be a terrible pity if this process were to be brought to an end by the Blackpool conference. It's a process that has to be encouraged if it's going to continue. I think it will continue."

forward #43 Oct 1980

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from *FORWARD* may be reprinted without fee as long as *FORWARD* is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to: Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5C 2K1.

Autonomy battle looms

Will the executive of the Canadian Labor Congress at next month's meeting in Vancouver move from their strong words of indignation against the threats of the business-union Washington-based AFL-CIO trade union bureaucrats to deeds in the interests of their long-frustrated Canadian members?

Will they stand firm against these blackmailers who are withholding their Canadian members' dues in an attempt to bankrupt the CLC into submitting to their commands? Will they defend the Quebec Federation of Labor's decision to continue to encompass within its ranks some 12,000 electricians who over a decade ago decided, as is their democratic right, to quit the U.S. based bureaucratized IBEW, from which they were expelled by a packed San Diego convention? And will they brush aside, with the contempt that it deserves, the demand that the democratic representative rights that now prevail at CLC conventions be drastically curbed so that they take on the characteristics of the machine-run monstrosities on their own stamping grounds?

And should the Canadian leadership stand in defiance against these ultimatums flung by the U.S. building trades brass, will they build up the forces that are necessary to fight back the inevitable reprisals? Will they defend the jobs of Canadian building trades workers by immediately setting up a new and independent structure that will be completely under the democratic control of the Canadian membership as a rallying point from which the battle against the bosses and their labor lieutenants can be joined and won?

It is the elementary duty of the CLC executive to stand up to the U.S. building trades brass. Besides, not for many decades has the situation been so favorable to mobilize forces that on winning this battle, which would shake the CLC down to its very roots, can go on to transform the Canadian labor movement into a much more powerful instrument of the struggle for social justice.

The arrogance of the U.S.-based office holders and the insolence of their road-men lackies not only lay bare the depth of their decay and degeneration but reveal that their time is fast running out. Over the past decade the demand for autonomy has become so powerful at every level of Canadian union ranks that even some of the most ossified sections of the so-called international leadership have been compelled to concede it, before it was wrenched from their grasp. But the wretched betrayal of those who failed to join the Canadian Paperworkers and then broke the CLC's united front behind the beseiged Lumber and Sawmill workers at Boise Cascade shows that they are still a powerful force for evil.

The building trades workers, their strength long-fractured by antediluvian craft union structures, and their isolation from the mainstream of the mass industrial unions, are themselves undergoing ferment that is finding expression in the machine-run provincial councils. Last month, the Quebec Council was reduced to a shell when delegates representing 60% of the affiliated members walked out. Fat-cat James McCambly's threat that his sweetheart deals with the construction bosses placed 70,000 jobs in Alberta in his back pocket cut no ice with them. The BC trades council has been lost to the top brass for years — and now the failure of delegates to the Ontario council in Kingston to respond to a proposal to build a dual structure competitive to the CLC, should its executive not submit to their blackmail, showed that it too is slipping out of their grasp.

The relationship of forces in the CLC has been changing drastically to their disfavor. Powerful, enthusiastic, idealistic, new forces, an increasing number of them women, are flooding into the CLC's ranks, particularly from the growing, strategically-placed services industries, organized along industrial lines in Canadian national unions. Membership in the so-called Internationals peaked at 67.1% in 1965 to drop to 62.5% in 1978, whereas membership in national unions that year grew 4.3% and 7.8% for government employees' unions.

The building trades ranks, given a fighting alternative, are prepared to break free of the suffocating grip of the Washington-based machine. There can be no compromise and the new forces in the CLC are not seeking any. They are prepared to do battle and are waiting for the call.

A word from the CLC executive would waken this giant out of its apathy, restore to organized labor the liberatory image that has become tarnished, transform it, and place it at the front of the struggle of the Canadian people in its aim to establish a socialist democracy. This can be a decisive turning point in labor's struggle. This is the challenge before the executive of the 3 million-strong members of the CLC.

forward #43 Oct 1980

Unions join struggle as

Daycare cut back

by Alice Klein

Day care has become more than a motherhood issue in Toronto over the last few months. A coalition of mothers and fathers, day care and social service workers have successfully taken the issue out of the realm of ritual lip service into the arena of political contestation.

The Ontario government's announcement last August that the day care budget would be held to an 8% increase — an "increase" which

Pat Schulz, keynote speaker at OFL conference and daycare rally.

would mean the loss of approximately 1,200 subsidized day care spaces in Toronto alone — met a unified and determined coalition ready for action. Through a series of actions and negotiations — including a public City Hall meeting attended by about 1,000 adults and children, which heard 95 angry deputations outlining the inadequacy of the current day care scene — Ontario Minister of Social Services Keith Norton was forced to up his budget promise to 11% and later to 14%. A few weeks later, further crisis, precipitated by Metro's budgeting problems, saw the province increase its allotment to 15.5% to thaw a Metro imposed freeze on day care subsidies which threatened to shutdown ten centres in Toronto.

On the other hand, the latest budget increase is conditional on Metro's promise to freeze expansion of subsidized day care spaces in spite of the fact that more than 4,000 children are currently on day care waiting lists.

In response, an open letter to Social Services Minister Keith Norton was published as an ad in the **Toronto Star** paid for by the 1,000 signatories and a rally of 900 was organized on October 23 at Queen's Park.

While the fight for universally accessible quality day care is only beginning, Toronto day care activists have proven that the time has come to move beyond pie-in-the-sky declarations. For the first time, day care has become a significant issue in Toronto's municipal elections.

More important, the NDP and the labor movement have begun to formulate a comprehensive program around the issue.

The most detailed example of this is the discussion paper on day care, presented to the OFL Conference on Day Care in October. The program is expected to become OFL policy at the next convention.

The program is based on the right of every family to a free, universal service of care for children under 12. The model it develops would allow parents to choose different types of care including group care, private home care, part-time care for children of shift workers, drop-in facilities and play groups. These options would be organized around neighborhood group care centres. Parents and workers would control decision-making.

The document deals at length with the thorny problem of work place day care, astutely pointing out that management conrol over child care can create serious problems. However, the program reads, "the OFL recommends that where possible unions consider workplace day care as a negotiating demand, as a **tactic** or **strategy** towards our ultimate goal..."

A key plank affirms the need for unions to make greater efforts to organize daycare workers so that their salaries and benefits reflect the value of their work on a par with workers in education, nursing and social work.

The final provision recognizes the right of parents to remain at home to care for their child at birth and for a reasonable time afterwards without loss of job or seniority. It calls for paid parental leave for up to one year available to **either** parent, with full continuation of benefits and seniority.

These issues are well-suited to the collective bargaining process and can demonstrate concretely the labor movement's commitment.

Women unionists are a rising force in the labor movement. Here, striking federal clerks march to protest "federal clerks on the cross."

Don't give to those beggars!

Support FORWARD

Subscribe!

Name _____

Address _____

12 issue subscription $2.50
Bundle of 10 copies $2.00 pp.

Stamps or cheque
Forward Publishing Assn.
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

forward
#43 Oct 1980

Labor rallies to civil rights fight

by Harry Paine

Expressions of solidarity and concrete financial support behind the half million dollar slander suit that is becoming known as Dowson vs the RCMP have taken an inspiring turn in the past few weeks. Area Labour Councils all the way from St. John, New Brunswick to Victoria, British Columbia, are sending in statements of support and enclosing contributions to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund. SRDF has been set up to develop and organize support behind this struggle against the RCMP. The RCMP, prompted by the government, has been labelling organizations and persons holding completely legitimate dissident views as subversive and under the cover of that label harassing the targetted organizations.

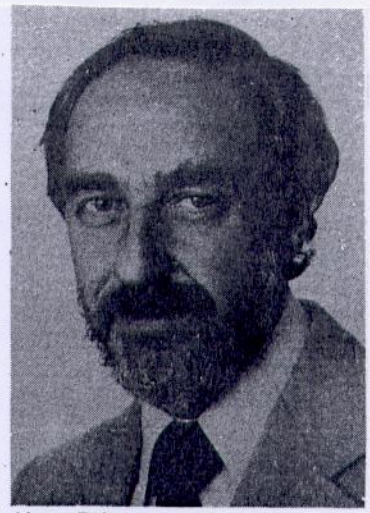
Secretary-Treasurer Paddy Neale forwarded $100 towards the cost of Dowson's appeal on behalf of the Vancouver and District Labour Council. The Niagara District Council of the Canadian Union of Public Employees sent $25, wishing us success. Local 2693 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union at Thunder Bay sent in $100.

A provincial council meeting of the New Brunswick NDP sent $50 and through Judy Wilson expressed regret that it couldn't be more substantial. The Vancouver Little Mountain NDP sent $50 and a group of NDP campaigners in Toronto's Ward 4 took up an on-the-spot collection for SRDF that netted $19.

The swing of labor support is taking place at the right time for we have just been informed that the costs a federal court judge levied against SRDF lawyer Harry Kopyto's efforts to obtain a court order that would compel the McDonald Commission to allow him to appear before it, amounted to the sum of 800 dollars.

The list of individual supporters has expanded considerably. It now includes writers Margaret Atwood, Peter McLaren, author of **Cries from the Corridor,** and Ian Adams, being sued for his book, **S: Portrait of A Spy;** Ed Ziemba and Richard Johnston, NDP members in the Ontario parliament; unionists Dick Martin of the Manitoba Fed., Leo McKay of the Nova Scotia Fed., Angus MacPhee of the Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers, and Mike Lyons of the Metro Toronto Labour Council.

A number of labour and socialist papers across the country have reproduced an ad prepared by and seeking support for the SRDF. Possibly a dozen did so although the exact number we do not know as we learned about some inadvertently. **En Lutte** of Montreal translated a portion of the appeal into French which prompted a number of its readers to express their solidarity. Some Toronto supporters are investigating the possibility of holding a benefit affair for SRDF at the turn of the year. With Ontario Attorney general McMurtry's stay of its efforts to lay charges against RCMP lawbreakers, SRDF is getting ready to initiate new efforts with increased costs which can only be met with your help.



Harry Paine

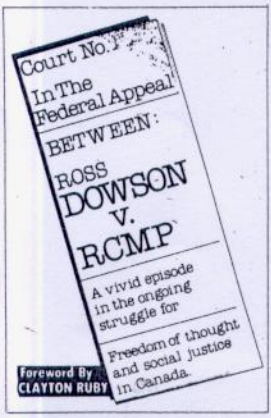
Quebec human rights body blames RCMP for firings

The Quebec Human Rights Commission has found that three women "laid off" last fall from the Pratt & Whitney aircraft plant near Montreal were in actual fact fired, and for their political views. Through its lawyer Robert Senay, the government commission has annouced that the RCMP played 'a decisive role' in the firings of Wendy Stevenson, Katy Le Rougetel and Suzanne Chabot, members of the Revolutionary Workers League.

Neither the women nor their union, UAW Local 510, believed the company's explanation of a layoff due to personnel surplus. The union submitted grievances for unwarranted layoff and lodged the complaint with the commission. Reinforcing the commission charge of political harassment by the RCMP, some five months later all three were fired a second time from new jobs—Chabot and Stevenson from Canadair (a Crown corporation), and Le Rougetel from Canadian Marconi. The commission plans to take Pratt & Whitney to court this month to force their reinstatement and to win back pay and damages.

The Three Pratt Women are winning support for their case across the country. The following excerpt from a statement of support from the Vancouver Status of Women was read to a Vancouver solidarity meeting: "We deplore the crimes of the RCMP and of Pratt & Whitney in the wrongful dismissal of the three activists almost one year ago. We strongly affirm their right to uphold and publicly advocate their political positions as socialists and as members of the RWL. We join with you in demanding redress from the company, including the immediate rehiring of these women. We join with you in the struggle against state repression, and salute the campaign to open up areas of non-traditional work to women."

The Women's Political Action Committee of the Parti Québécois and Louise Harel, vice president of the PQ have endorsed the campaign. To aid the campaign and for more information, contact the Pratt Three Defense Committee, 4271 Chambord, Montreal, Quebec.


Court No.
In The Federal Appeal
BETWEEN:
ROSS DOWSON v. RCMP
A vivid episode in the ongoing struggle for
Freedom of thought and social justice in Canada.
Foreword By CLAYTON RUBY

ORDER YOUR COPY

The record of the case

Dowson v. RCMP

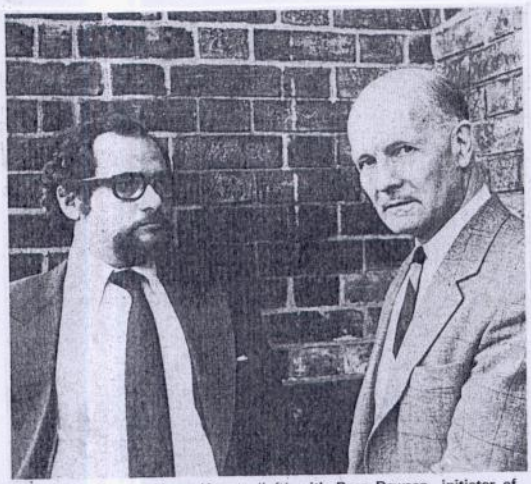
Advance price $2.50
per copy postage paid
54 pages, paper

"though this book should be read with considerable disquiet, it is important that it be read"

—from the foreword by Clayton Ruby, B.A., LL.B., LL.M.

ORDER FROM
Forward Publishing Association
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto M5C 2K1

forward #43 Oct 1980



Civil rights lawyer Harry Kopyto (left) with Ross Dowson, initiator of RCMP slander suit.

Writers back author sued by RCMPer

Canada's cultural circles are becoming involved as seldom before in social and political issues as they are being posed by the 2.2 million dollar libel action that stands against Ian Adams, author of **S.—Portrait of a Spy.** About 100 freelance writers heard Adams, in a three-way Toronto panel, sponsored by the Periodical Writers Association of Canada, urge the necessity of shield laws to protect journalists from being forced to reveal their sources. Adams is the first writer in Canada to be sued for libel alleged to have occurred in a work of fiction. His lawyer, Paul Copeland, has temporarily succeeded in stalling a Supreme Court of Ontario order that he reveal his sources. Late last month almost 1,000 people turned out to hear concert artists Pauline Julien, Nancy White, Los Campaneros and Stringband, a short address by novelist Margaret Atwood and an emotional response from Adams himself. The audience contributed over $7,000 to the Ian Adams Defence Fund.

For three years now, Adams has been faced with the libel suit launched by former RCMP counter-intelligence officer James Bennett. Bennett claims that he is the "S" portrayed in the Adams novel as a Soviet agent, who infiltrates the RCMP, eventually commands its intelligence division, is discovered by the CIA which turns him so that he continues reporting to the CIA on both the KGB and the RCMP until the latter finally discovers him and retires him to Australia.

Ian Adams

While the suit has not yet got past the pre-trial examination for discovery, it has resulted in Gage Publishing in effect withdrawing the novel which sold 13,000 copies in a few weeks, and in scuttling negotiations for film and paperback rights.

A sinister aspect of the suit is the involvement of Toronto **Sun** editor Peter Worthington, a longtime acquaintance of Bennett who is thought to have identified S as Bennett and to have encouraged him to launch the suit. Some years back, Worthington admitted to having mysteriously become the recipient of the stolen effects of Praxis Institute, a radical group active in the Poor Peoples' movement. Worthington turned over the stolen material not to its owners but to the police who covered up the incident until it became part of the revelations of the RCMP's violations of the civil rights of dissident and opposition forces across the country.

Halifax group exposes RCMP undercover spy

by Jean Laplante

Socialist militants associated with **In Struggle** have revealed that the RCMP planted a spy as late as last Fall in their Halifax organization. The RCMP did so despite widespread public protests against its so-called "dirty tricks" and its pretence that it has terminated its campaign of harassment of legitimate organizations of social protest.

At an August 25th Halifax press conference, a member of **In Struggle** revealed that Bill Zinck, a student at Dalhousie University School of Social Work, was approached the previous fall by a member of the RCMP's security service who he had come to know some years earlier when he had got into trouble with drugs. Zinck was assigned the task of simulating interest in the ideas, activities, members and contacts of the group in exchange for $125 a month—depending on the quality and the quantity of his information. Several times he was shown books of photographs of militants and supporters of **In Struggle** as well as other people. He identified photographs of rallies or demonstrations organized by **In Struggle** or others, of people outside meetings, in front of their homes or walking along a sidewalk.

This spring Zinck became conscience-stricken and told a fellow student of his activities on behalf of the RCMP. When later confronted by a member of **In Struggle**, he admitted to being on the RCMP payroll as a spy. In breaking off from the RCMP, he confessed he had taken the bait to build up their dossieres on Haligonians when, on returning to school, he found that his own financial problems and those of his immediate family made it extremely difficult for him to continue.

box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto M5C 2K1, Ont.

forward

Ross Dowson,
121 Church Street
Toronto

December 19, 1980

Beatty & Church
208- 103 Church Street
Toronto

Attention Thad McIlroy

Dear Thad:

In respect to the generous offer you outlined in your note of the 16th:

I would prefer that in the "business" end it be more orthodox. In respect to the cause the publication is involved in I would prefer that your generosity be expressed by a very full, even "extravagant" employment of the facilities that you have built up in the operations now available to Beatty & Church--which you are probably contempting anyway. After all there are hard commitments such as rent, wages, advertising etc that all, including this book must and should meet. I would not want any arrengement that we will make to fail to meet this basic responsiblity and thereby, even possibly, jeopardize its full implementation.

I am meeting the full manufacturing costs of a serviceable run. I would appreciate it if Beatty and Church would make an outright purchase of something in the neighborhood of one thousand copies at suitable terms so that I can handle that basic cost which our fund is as yet somewhat short of completely doing.

I believe that the normal discount terms are in the neighborhood of 60% and 40%--payment within a specified time.

I would appreciate it if Beatty and Church could be generous in the direction of extending itself in areas such as newspaper ads in the leading dailies in the 7 or so major Canadian centers--in obtaining reviews of the pamphlet in the major media, etc, etc.,--that is in the the area of promotion and distribution.

sincerely

Ross Dowson

Ross Dowson

As soon as we receive the shipment today I will phone you

Ross Dowson #2311
40 Homewood Ave
Toronto, M4Y2K2

Jan 2, 1981

Editors of This Magazine

70 the Esplanade, 3rd floor
Toronto, M5E 1R2

Dear friends:

As you will note from the list of supporters of the Socialist Rights Defence Fund(possibly the largest list ever of prominent Canadians to identify with the civil rights of a declared Marxist on the issue of "subversion") there are many persons identified with your Magazine. Among them are Ian Adams and Margaret Atwood. It was on this basis that we have been hoping that you would publish material on the Dowson V the RCMP case, possibly one or two of the ads, repros of which we have sent you. Certainly the SRDF needs any and all support that it can get

Possibly you have been waiting for something that one of your staff could get their teeth into. Under separate cover I have sent you a copy of the booklet Dowson V. the RCMP. We would appreciate it if you would give it a review, and possibly run the last add with the Kealey, Atwood, [illegible], Ruby statements to give SRDF a needed boost.

Thanks for any favors and seasons greetings

Ross Dowson

Ross Dowson

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 7 No. 1 (44) ISSN 0700-9038 Feb.-Mar. 1981 Toronto 25 cents

Join the fight for unilateral disarmament!

by Ellie Kirzner

"The greatest threat facing Canadians is not national disunity. It is not the energy crisis. It is not inflation or unemployment. It is a menace we share with all mankind. It is the threat of nuclear war."

Ed Finn sounded this alarm in the pages of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway and Transport union's **Canadian Transport**. His is one of the many new voices that have revived the long-dormant movement for nuclear disarmament. Anti-war activists have been jolted out of their slumber by the horror of renewed military escalation that is holding the whole world hostage to the schemes of the U.S. war machine.

For decades, we have been lulled into passivity by fear of the unthinkable, and by the supposed stability of the "balance of terror." The nuclear arms build-up was justified as a deterrent to a **mad**, "mutual assured destruction." The prospect of a nuclear holocaust that no one could win was supposed to tame the hounds of war. After all, the U.S. has the power to blow up Russia 50 times; by contrast, Russia can only blow up the U.S. 25 times.

But U.S. warmongers are now thinking the unthinkable. They are openly discussing the costs and "benefits" of winnable nuclear war. With military precision, they are preparing for such a war. New missiles are being developed, such as Trident and MX, which hold out the possibility of first-strike capacity. Recent plans to deploy neutron bombs on NATO turf in Europe will begin to blur the line between conventional and nuclear warfare.

The Canadian government is keeping pace with the drive to war, as a lock-step partner of the U.S. in NATO. Canadian Defence (!) Minister Lamontagne plans to spend $19.8 billion over the next 20 years to boost Canadian weaponry. This

→p.3

Canadians feel a nuclear war is increasingly inevitable — a leap from 33% in 1975.

Part of this pessimism is due to the failure of the SALT talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. "When the SALT talks began in 1969," an excellent United Church publication **Not With Our Lives You Don't** reports, "the U.S. and U.S.S.R. had less than 3,000 strategic nuclear

continued on page 7

Trudeau ramming thru phoney 'patriation' deal

by John Darling

The "Constitutional Express," with grim, determined Prime Minister Trudeau at the throttle and NDP leader Broadbent cheering from the caboose, is plunging ahead to derailment — a disaster not only for two leaders and two parties, but also the working people of Canada and Quebec who must sort out the tangled constitutional wreckage.

Trudeau's "constitutional package" aboard consists of unilateral patriation of the BNA Act, with amendments from Britain, along with an entrenched Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It got on the tracks only with the key western support of the New Democratic Party, but the gradient has become steeper with growing opposition from 64% of Canadians (who favor simple

→p.2

How the Toronto Star sees it.

New forces call for constituent assembly

by the Editors

The most serious attempt to come to grips with the constitutional crisis contronting Canada was brutally shoved aside by the Trudeau government's special parliamentary constitutional committee. Ottawa's NDP Mayor, Marion Dewar, appearing before it on behalf of Canadian Connection, challenged the committee not to cut off public debate just as it is getting underway across the country — "not to stifle us as citizens of this country." "Why," she asked, "are we amending a British statute? Why aren't we writing a Canadian statute?"

Mayor Dewar outlined some of the key ideas projected in the Canadian Connection prospectus:

- "Our constitution belongs to all Canadians — past, present and future — and not solely to our governments. It is **our** basic statement of **who** we are, how we govern **ourselves**. Therefore it is not just a law. Nor is it only the agreement by which federal and provincial governments regulate their relationships.
- "The fifty three years of debate about patriation of the constitution have been largely a discussion among governments. The public has not been directly involved. The discussion has focussed on federal/provincial relationships and not on our lives, our history or our aspirations.
- "...Precisely because our constitution **is** our most fundamental statement about how we live together, under no circumstances can it be imposed on any of us in the hope that in time our resistance will diminish, or that we will change our minds."

Canadian Connections' aim: "to encourage a community-based movement...to enable Canadians to understand, participate in,

continued on page 2

Work for, elect NDP government in Ont.

by the Editors

There is a choice in this election. Only an NDP government holds forth the possiblity for seriously dealing with the major economic and social problems faced by Ontario's working people.

Whatever the deficiencies of the party's leadership or program, the NDP is deeply rooted in the trade unions and is independent of control by the large corporations. It reflects the developing movement of working people and their allies among the students, farmers and small businessmen. There is no other political party which embodies independent labor political action, which poses the possibility of the labor movement and its allies taking the reins of government.

The NDP challenges the priorities of big business, points the direction for future needed changes. The campaigns of NDP candidates, to promote the labor alternative before the electorate and to share in the important evaluations which will take place within the NDP after the elections.

An NDP government would mark a major step forward for labor. It would place the development of a worked-out labor program to meet the economic crisis on the agenda. Work for and vote to elect an NDP government in Queen's Park.

→p.3

Workers' control highlights militant strike at BC Tel

by P. Kent

When members of the BC Telecommunication Workers Union ended their occupation of 20 major offices throughout British Columbia, and terminated their control and operation of the entire BC Telephones communications monopoly for five days, they walked out to join what had become a full scale strike of their 11,000 member organization.

Some 10,000 civic employees have already been on strike since January 30 in a wage dispute with 11 municipalities in the Great Vancouver Regional District. A partial lockout by the government-run Insurance Corporation is threatening the shutdown of the entire operation. Concrete supplies to the construction industry are dwindling as cement workers continue their strike for a new contract. The 225 workers locked out since last September by Nabob Food are still holding firm. But to top off this turbulence on the BC labor front, the hydro workers, the longshoremen, the fishing, the ferry and mining workers, along with the forestry workers, organized in the powerful International Woodworkers of America, are all heading into negotiations.

As the Vancouver judge ordered an end to the occupation on the grounds that it constituted "criminal contempt of court," making the union liable to heavy fines, Ottawa intervened to appoint a federal mediator of the conflict. Under pressure of the BC Employer's Council which has been openly critical of BC Tel's labor relations, Labor Minister Gerald Regan publicly expressed his regret that the telephone monopoly had not accepted recommendations of a previous conciliator which he noted "looks in some ways relatively

continued on page 6

In this issue

RCMP supplement p.3-4
North-South talk... p.5
Br Labour Party... p.6
China trials p.7

forward
#44

Trudeau ramming through phoney 'patriation' scheme

p. 2

patriation) and seven provincial governments—now eight as Saskatchewan deserts the federal camp and splits the NDP's forces.

In London, the Thatcher government may yet throw the switch, in spite of Trudeau's claim that a "three-line Whip" would be used to shunt the package through the

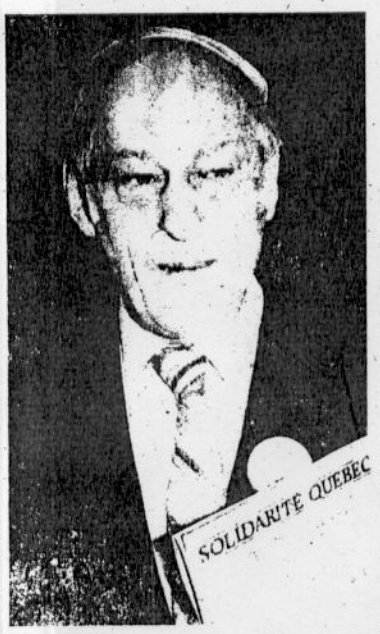
continued on page 2

Blakeney & 4 MPs save face of NDP

NDP leader Broadbent's tinkerings, that only serve to make Trudeau's constitutional dictat a little easier to swallow, blew up in his face the first day the debate went public in the Commons. Lorne Nystrom, the NDP caucus' constitutional spokesman broke ranks, along with two other Saskatchewan MPs, Simon de Jong and Douglas Anguish, to declare they would vote NO. Singling out the retention of the Senate's veto and the amending formula, Nystrom denounced the package as a unilateralist action, urged a return to the conference table, and the dropping of the Charter of Rights, if necessary, to achieve concensus. The following day Allan Blakeney, head of the only NDP provincial government in the country, added Saskatchewan, to make it the 8th of the 10 provinces opposing Ottawa.

continued from page 1

Commons and the House of Lords,



Québécois organized a 715,000-name petition to oppose Liberal government plans for unilateral patriation. Premier Lévesque received the signatures from the organizing group Solidarité Québec.

while "holding their noses" and passing the Charter to boot. While the British say they feel "morally bound" to observe the convention of obtaining the approval of a majority of provinces, in reality it was Canada that gave Britain trusteeship of the BNA Act by the Statute of Westminster in 1931 — and this because Canadians (read English Canada and Quebec) could never agree on an amending formula that would be agreeable to all (read satisfy Quebec that English Canada would not use its majority to endanger the French language and culture).

All the more must Quebec's fears be confirmed by federal amendments to the Charter of Rights — supported silently by the NDP leadership which was complicit in the campaign for "renewed federalism". Quebec, facing virtual emasculation of its French language Bill 101, has led off the court challenges by six provinces to the Trudeau constitutional package.

In a cynical tradeoff, mandatory bilingualism and a Charter of Rights clause ensuring minorities freedom to obtain English-language schooling, while applied to Quebec and Manitoba, is not applied to Ontario with its large francophone population. Both the Ontario NDP and the federal NDP caucus have been mired in this deal in order to ensure Ontario's support for the package. Renewed Native demands for greater guarantees for aboriginal rights, and the open intervention of federal Immigration Minister Axworthy to sabotage a women's conference on the constitution, have both made the NDP caucus' pompous praise of the constitutional package as "historic" ridiculous.

Saskatchewan NDP Premier Blakeney was initially a supporter of unilateral patriation as long as Broadbent had supposedly won an amendment recognizing provincial control of resources. But Blakeney has broken with Trudeau and split the NDP because Ottawa refuses to budge on the key issue of provincial rights to market their resources internationally. The premier's demand that federal referendum powers be curbed, and that the provinces have the right to hold referendums as well, was also turned down. Saskatchewan's differences with the federal caucus prompted Attorney-General Roy Romanow to declare that the future of the NDP is in jeopardy if the federal party continues its support for the constitutional package. Indeed, the NDP's position for abolition of the Senate was shamelessly cast aside when Trudeau made an amendment to restore the Upper House veto, an "improvement" Broadbent dutifully swallowed.

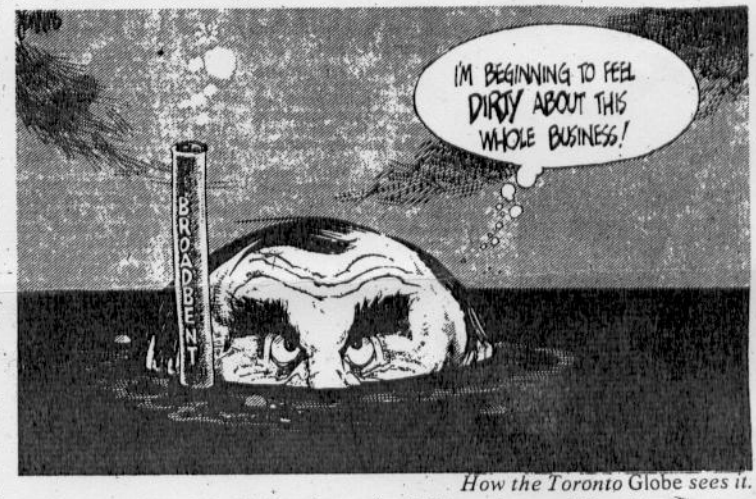
The Charter's total lack of mention of working peoples' rights was criticized by the BC Federation of Labor and the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions, which called for inclusion of the right to work, to organize into unions, and to strike.

The NDP should pull the emergency cord and stop the train. Broadbent's unilateral support for the Liberal package can irreparably harm the party — witness the resignation of a leading militant in Svend Robinson's Burnaby riding. NDP historian Desmond Morton decried the "sleaze" that the NDP is getting caught up in.

The process of a popularly-elected, widely representative constituent assembly is the only hope there is in Canada of writing a viable, lasting new Constitution. Only such an assembly can cut the Gordian knots that prevent solutions to the problem — above all the need to recognize Quebec's right of self-determination and resolving the Native people's aboriginal claims.

Only a constituent assembly can resolve the question which is splitting the NDP — control and development of Canada's resources in the interests of the working people — not the phoney "Canadianization" of the Liberal government which means continued subsidies to Shell and Imperial and stupendous payments for "takeovers" of small retail chains by Petro-Canada.

It's time for the NDP to get off the Constitutional Express, before it cracks up and entangles the party in the debris. Now is the time for the party to rise to its historic responsibility and to mobilize the membership for a discussion leading up to the convention this summer, where the concept of a constituent assembly can be debated as the first step in resolving the shape of a socialist constitution.



How the Toronto Globe *sees it.*

unilateral disarmament

p. 3

will require a 3% annual rise in military expenditures, over and above inflation.

Of course, Canadian sovereignty is a longstanding casualty of NORAD and the Defence Production Sharing Agreement which tangles Canada into the intricate web of North American militarism. NORAD puts Canadian territory in the middle of the cross fire of nuclear missiles in the event of war. The terrible reality of this prospect was dramatized by what was termed a computer error several years ago. At that time, all NORAD forces were put on combat alert including Canadian soldiers and officers assigned to NORAD. It was learned that Prime Minister Trudeau was kept in the dark during the entire episode.

Despair and fatalism have taken hold of many Canadians. According to the latest Gallup poll, 62% of Canadians feel a nuclear war is increasingly inevitable — a leap from 33% in 1975.

Part of this pessimism is due to the failure of the SALT talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. "When the SALT talks began in 1969," an excellent United Church publication **Not With Our Lives You Don't** reports, "the U.S. and U.S.S.R. had less than 3,000 strategic nuclear

continued on page 7

continued from page 1

warheads; now they have a total of some 15,000 deliverable strategic warheads."

Despite the abject failure of these talks, the Canadian Labor Congress continues to lend support to the idea of bilateral de-escalation and mutual disarmament. Under present world conditions, there is absolutely no prospect of this ever taking place. In this context, talk of mutual disarmament constitutes a smokescreen for the arms race.

The only alternative to the unbridled rush to war lies in unilateral disarmament. Possession of nuclear weapons by countries like Canada offers neither security nor deterrence.

At this point in time, when the U.S.-sponsored wardrive hinges on the extension of warzones to Canada and Europe, a mass world-wide movement for unilateral disarmament can stop the wardrive in its tracks and even reverse its spread. This is currently the position of the British Labour Party.

The world teeters on the edge of destruction. Quite apart from maniacal moves by the likes of Carter in his disastrous attempt to invade Iran, computers can touch off a war at any moment. Last year computer errors resulted in three false alerts.

We do not have much time. The movement for unilateral disarmament must become the movement of the 1980s.

forward #44

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from *FORWARD* may be reprinted without fee as long as *FORWARD* is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to: Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5C 2K1.

Work for, elect NDP government in Ont.

p. 3

party's program stands against the sellout of Ontario's resources to U.S. corporations and against cutbacks in health care. It is pledged to diversifying employment through the creation of crown corporation-sponsored secondary industries.

Despite the promises and posturing of the Liberals and Tories, their essentially identical policies have created the crisis of unemployment, inflation, social service cutbacks and antilabor laws. These are the policies of the economic elite, which calls the shots in the old line parties.

Unfortunately, the crystal clear division between the NDP and the old line parties has been blurred by the conduct of the parliamentary caucus during the last few years. The parliamentary leadership has compromised the integrity of the party by supporting the Tories in a series of Liberal-sponsored non-confidence motions. This has allowed Liberal leader Stuart Smith to demogogically argue that his party is the real alternative and that a vote for the NDP is a vote to prop up the Tories.

The NDP record on other issues — like Ziemba's "excommunication," Bill 89, the exclusion of homosexuals from the Human Rights Code, public ownership — has also been wretched. These are important problems and the membership will be called upon to settle accounts with the leadership on these matters within the party.

As socialists, our support for the NDP flows from a commitment to its character as the political expression of the labor movement. The opportunistic mistakes of its leaders cannot negate the working class base of the party. Socialists should commit themselves actively in the campaigns of NDP candidates, to promote the labor alternative before the electorate and to share in the important evaluations which will take place within the NDP after the elections.

An NDP government would mark a major step forward for labor. It would place the development of a worked-out labor program to meet the economic crisis on the agenda. Work for and vote to elect an NDP government in Queen's Park.

Growth of Que NDP stymied

Once again, the Quebec wing of the NDP has been forced to abstain from political struggles in Quebec due to the compulsive federalism of the Broadbent leadership.

In last year's referendum campaign, the Quebec NDP took no official position, lest a position one way or another split the already-tiny section in two. Shortly after, the Quebec party president issued a statement explaining that: "It is difficult for the NDP to find a place in the political debate."

Now, in the midst of massive Quebec opposition to unilateral patriation — a labor-backed coalition gathered 715,000 signatures in the biggest petition campaign of Quebec's history — the Quebec NDP is abstaining once again. The excuse is becoming familiar. "The Quebec NDP, on its meeting of November 8, 1980 decided not to get involved," declares party president Jean-Denis Lavigne, explaining that the party didn't want its views misrepresented by a mixed coalition. "It is difficult for the NDP to find a place in the political debate," he brooded again.

The Quebec NDP section's hands are tied by the NDP federal leadership which went along with unilateral patriation, despite Broadbent's earlier promise to Quebec that he would never support it. Broadbent has also withdrawn his pledge to support bilingualism in Ontario.

The Quebec section is also hamstrung by the weakness of its own leadership. Lavigne criticized Broadbent's position at the NDP federal council in November, according to the Winter 1980 issue of the Quebec NDP newsletter, **Le Démocrate**. In Quebec, Lavigne said, "no political leader could survive support for unilateral patriation, not to mention other specifics contained within the resolution." Lavigne then accepted the council gag rule that no amendments to the leader's report were possible. How can such a leadership hold up its head in Quebec?

The NDP cannot begin to think of forming a government in Canada without mass support in Quebec. Broadbent's tagging along with Trudeau takes us one step further away from this possibility.

forward #44 Feb 1981

Spadina riding appeal

For anti-war party

by Bill Shier

The struggle for an effective anti-war movement in Canada must begin in the labor movement and the NDP—movements which can only benefit from the drive for peace. By the same token, supporters of the wardrive see the leadership of the labor movement as a crucial wedge with which they can legitimize the wardrive amongst the populace. Any weakening of resolve on these fronts can only strengthen the hand of the war-makers.

There are already ominous signs of labor and NDP backtracking. Ed Broadbent jumped on the cold-war bandwagon in the last federal election. The NDP caucus said nothing when Ottawa renewed Canada's commitment to NATO/NORAD. Broadbent is trying to sway the NDP convention this summer into support of NATO. Likewise, the OFL executive rejected an anti-NATO resolution left in its hands as part of the unfinished business of the OFL convention.

By contrast, the British Labour Party, ensconced in a country which is completely committed by NATO, has broken from its past misleadership and renounced war alliances in favor of unilateral disarmament.

There are signs of hope here, however, as shown by initiatives to maintain and extend the NDP's anti-war policies of previous conventions. In January, the newly-established Labour Committee for a Safe Environment, with backing from leading Ontario unionists, went on record against nuclear weapons.

In January, the Spadina NDP federal riding passed a statement to "spark discussion and stir action among New Democrats in preparation for the federal convention."

The resolution argues:

"Whereas, according to the CLC's **Canadian Labour**, the arms drive is racing along at the rate of one million dollars per minute, and whereas, according to the CBRT's **Canadian Transport**, "the money required to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world has been estimated at $17 billion a year. It is a huge sum of money...about as much as the world spends on arms every two weeks.

"And whereas, top-ranking U.S. officials now openly discuss the possibility of 'winnable nuclear war' and are working to implement this possibility through first-strike weapon systems (Trident, MX, Cruise missles) and alliance systems (the nuclearization of western Europe through NATO); and whereas, disarmament represents the only deterrent to escalation of the war drive and mutual assured destruction; and whereas, eastern bloc countries like Poland and Rumania have already taken steps toward disarmament in the hope that this action will inspire other countries to follow their example; and whereas, several western European countries are resisting U.S.-NATO efforts to impose nuclear warheads on them, creating a situation where Canadian action could have a decisive effect;

"Be it resolved that the NDP call upon the Canadian government to unilaterally remove all nuclear weapons and support systems from our country; That the NDP campaign for the Canadian government to withdraw from all military alliances such as NATO/NORAD which employ nuclear weapons..."

Those who wish to support or contribute to this statement are urged to contact Alderman Dan Heap, New City Hall, Toronto.

CANADIAN SECURITY IS NOT IN ARMAMENTS BUT IN SOCIAL VALUES
BILLIONS FOR ARMS
THE STRENGTH OF OUR CONVICTIONS NOT THE STRENGTH OF OUR WEAPONS
AHEM-WOT ABOUT CANADIAN BILLIONS FOR WARPLANES
DISARMAMENT NOW. LONG LIVE DETENTE!
HEY-WHY ARE WE FORKING OUT BILLIONS FOR WEAPONS?
JUST IN CASE, BUSTER, I WANT TO INVOKE THE WAR MEASURES ACT.

forward #44

Brewin opposes Broadbent's retreat in NDP debate on NATO position

by Wayne Roberts

"Those of us who feel there is no more important time to strengthen our party's anti-militarist stance need help in preparing for the fight to come," urges John Brewin, past president of the B.C. NDP and a member of the subcommittee reviewing NDP foreign policy.

Brewin's appeal, quoted in the December 1980/January 1981 B.C. **Democrat**, falls in the wake of Broadbent's pro-NATO gestures and moves by several subcommittee members to drag the party back to a pro-NATO position.

Those pushing a pro-NATO policy argue that NATO preserves the security of Canada and Europe "from external Soviet threat." They also feel that membership in NATO will allow Canada to influence NATO partners and to moderate U.S. policy.

The pro-NATO arguments are fraudulent. NATO is not, as alleged, an alliance of democratic countries against totalitarianism. Fascist and military dictatorships in Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey have been "honored" with full membership in NATO at one time or another. The alliance is structured to maintain the capitalist status quo, not the security of western Europe, which has not been threatened by Soviet intervention. Moves are now afoot to deploy NATO forces to the Persian Gulf, confirming the aggressive U.S. design which underlies the alliance.

The security of Europe lies in nuclear disarmament, not in further arms build-up. U.S.-backed policy of placing nuclear arms in Europe only makes Europe a first target in any future war. In this context, the real external threat to European security is NATO itself, which permits the U.S. to impose its wardrive policies on its allies. That is why an increasing number of European labor and socialist parties are taking a stand against NATO.

As for influence, riding the tail of a tiger is not an effective way to gain influence. Article 2 of NATO's constitution, which prettifies NATO as having high moral purposes, has always been regarded as a sick joke by the U.S. Professor James Eayr's study of Canada and NATO, **Growing Up Allied**, shows that Article 2 was inserted to placate Canada, led by a government well aware of the reservations of CCFers toward NATO. No aspect of article 2 has ever been acted on.

As in all NATO matters, from rearmament of West Germany to the inclusion of undemocratic countries to the use and command of nuclear weapons, the U.S. has called all the shots. It is a military alliance, pure and simple. In terms of Canada, NATO and NORAD have been key instruments in reducing our sovereignty and influence to satellite status. To suggest otherwise is to delude the Canadian people about the true nature of these alliances. If the NDP leadership adopts this course, it will become nothing less than outright apologists of U.S. foreign policy.

forward #44 Feb 1981

Women's rally for constituent assembly

by Lyn Starr

More than one thousand women met in Ottawa over February 14 and 15 to demand drastic revisions in the proposed Charter of Human Rights, despite the fact that this conference was cancelled by Lloyd Axworthy, the federal minister overseeing the status of women. In the event of government failure to accept these revisions, the pan-Canadian assembly called for dropping the charter and patriation of the constitution without an amending formula. In this event, the delegates demanded that cross-country debates be organized to work out constitutional amendments, which would be decided by a constituent assembly of the people of Canada, with women as 50% of its delegates.

The proposed revisions to the charter were: a clear statement that guarantees equal rights for women, elimination of a three-year delay in anti-discrimination provisions, the inclusion of the right to abortion, and addition of marital status, sexual orientation and political preference as prohibited grounds of discrimination.

Axworthy axed the officially planned conference by manipulating the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. This move, an obvious attempt to prevent embarrassment of the government, led to the resignation of the Council's prestigious Liberal-appointed chairwoman, Doris Anderson.

Why would a government with as large a majority as the Liberals be afraid of a meeting of a group of women led by one of their own supporters, Doris Anderson? The Status of Women Council is composed of an executive body, which is appointed on the government's recommendation by order-in-council. How embarrassing could a conference sponsored by this body prove to be?

Obviously the government didn't want to find out. The attempt to cancel the conference turned out to be more embarrassing for the government. Axworthy — often touted as the next leader of the Liberal Party—has been toppled from his pedestal. The Liberals have lost Doris Anderson from the Status of Women Council, and possibly from their ranks of loyal followers. And the conference in its unofficial form was probably more militant and attended by more women than would previously have been expected.

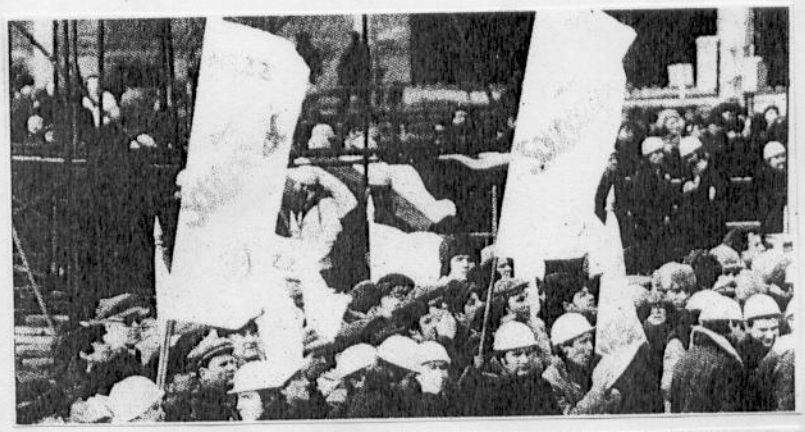
The women's movement, which has not been mobilized on a cross-Canada issue for a long period of time, was forced to move out independently as the Ad Hoc Committee of Canadian Women. The committee, made up of members of Women for Political Action, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the Federation of Women Teachers of Ontario, the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League and other women's groups came together in a gesture of sisterly solidarity. The spontaneity with which it organized the alternate conference demonstrates the depth of response of women across the country when attacks against women's rights threaten the movement.

The question now is what will become of the Status of Women Council. It was organized by the Liberal government as a response to the women's movement around the time of International Women's Year. Funding came directly from the government and memberships on the council were established by and large as Liberal Party patronage appointments.

The Liberals tried to tame the radicalizing force of the women's rights movement by co-opting it. In the past, the government successfully neutralized radicalizing youth by setting up and funding "respectable" protest groups like the CYC, LIP and CUSO.

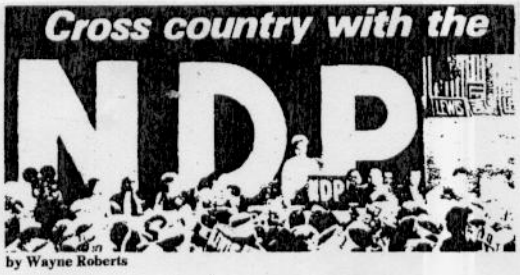
But this tactic backfired on the government as it tried to dilute the fermenting women's movement. The Ottawa women's conference defiantly called for the resignations of Axworthy and his stooges in the discredited Federal Council of Women, for the setting up of a new council responsible directly to parliament, and for broadening its composition from "white middle-class women" to include native and immigrant women and to reflect the political spectrum.

The alternate conference in Ottawa, organized without official government sanction and with incredible speed, testifies to the strength that women in Canada represent. Women across this country need the opportunity to make their demands known to the government and to organize their forces in independent political action against oppression. As Trudeau bowls ahead with his patriation scheme, women's demands can and should be brought forward in constituent assemblies where all women in Canada will have the right to participate in a matter which so directly affects them.



Polish workers' Solidarity organization represents a mass movement for workers' control and socialist democracy. The struggle has inevitably gone beyond demands for union rights. The Polish working class has been welded into a unified forced which continues to strengthen its militant leadership as it topples group after tiresome group of corrupt officials and bureaucrats who are responsible for economic mis-management. Under their banner, the Polish workers have encompassed farmers who are fighting to defend their efforts to produce against the parasitic Communist Party bureaucracy. All other aggrieved layers, like students who have just won the right to unionize, are seeking redress by relying on leadership provided by the working class movement. As the struggle deepens and penetrates into all levels of Polish society, workers are moving into a new stage of workers' power. This stage promises to settle accounts with the Stalinist "red bourgeoisie" and culminate in a political revolution.

forward #44 Feb 1981



by Wayne Roberts

Left Caucus hears Harney

The fundamental problem of the NDP is democracy, or rather the lack of it. Former NDP MP and leadership candidate John Harney levelled this charge during a January meeting on the constitutional crisis. The meeting was sponsored by the Toronto Left Caucus and Dovercourt riding.

"The party is totally bureaucratized. There is no sense that elected representatives at convention actually govern the party in policy terms," Harney continued.

He attacked the NDP federal caucus support of Trudeau's constitutional moves as "fundamentally illegitimate." By supporting Trudeau's scheme, the NDP is supporting the monarchy and its anti-democratic and secretive support systems such as the RCMP, Harney claimed.

Sovereignty, Harney argued, "resides ultimately with the people," not the federal or provincial governments. A constitution should not be the product of parliament, Harney insisted. Parliament should be the product of a constitution set up by the people.

Both Harney and Norman Penner, who addressed the meeting on the history of CCF-NDP attitudes toward federalism, agreed that a constituent assembly provided the only republican and democratic solution to Canada's constitutional crisis.

Protests grow on gay policy

by Fred Benson

The January annual meeting of the Toronto Ward 6 NDP and the February nomination meeting of St. George NDP censured the Ontario NDP caucus for its refusal to move an amendment favoring gay rights in the Ontario Human Rights Code. Both resolutions passed overwhelmingly.

The Tory provincial government brought forward changes to the Human Rights Code late in 1980, but refused to provide protection against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The ONDP caucus abandoned a convention decision calling for the inclusion of sexual orientation in the code. ONDP Leader Cassidy justified his inaction on the grounds that homosexual rights "would become a smokescreen for other issues like housing and equal rights for women" in the forthcoming provincial election.

This cynical abandonment of party policy, at the only moment when the NDP caucus could have proposed it, outraged the politically active gay community. To quote the **Body Politic** of February, 1981: "Surely the best way for 'the party of principle' to handle such a situation is to stick to its social, economic and justice policies while pointing out exactly what the PCs are up to. Instead, it's caught jettisoning a party policy which happens to be inconvenient at the moment."

Once the NDP leadership slinked away from advocating gay rights, attacks on the gay community increased. Far from getting itself off the hook on the gay rights issue, the ONDP leadership has placed itself in a position where it continues to run scared from the supposedly mass anti-gay backlash.

In the wake of Nazi style raids, which even the **Globe and Mail** condemned, Cassidy refused to comment. When challenged with St. George NDP candidate Dan Leckie's statement that "to be consistent, the NDP has to get rid of its recent flirting with compromise and stand crystal clear for its principles...", Cassidy again refused to support NDP policy against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Despite the NDP leadership's abandonment of party policy on this civil rights issue, a broad coalition is forming to support the gay community against police harassment. Several Toronto NDP aldermen, led by Gordon Cressy, pulled together an ad hoc group including writers Margaret Atwood and June Callwood, Alan Borovoy of the Civil Liberties Association, and Wilson Head, president of the National Black Coalition. This group is demanding an independent inquiry into the raids and will organize protest actions against police harassment of the gay community.

Why Sask editor resigned

The **Saskatchewan Commonwealth**, the one exception to the NDP leadership style of house-organ journalism, has lost its editor. Skip Hambling resigned as editor of the once-lively tabloid of news and commentary in August, 1980. He explained his resignation in an interview with the Saskatchewan magazine **Brianpatch** in December.

Hambling saw himself as editing "a non-sectarian politically left wing publication that offered a broad range of views to people interested in socialism, and you left it to the readership to make up their own minds as to which they would adopt and which they would reject." Hambling was hauled up on the carpet for this approach and for his editorials criticizing the lack of socialist perspective in the Blakeney and Broadbent leaderships. Although supported by the government council, his position became too difficult to maintain.

He finally quit because of "very real concerns that the internal apparatus of the party — the executive, people on paid staff attached to the premier's office — were seeking to lead the party in a particular direction and to use whatever instruments inside the party they could to achieve that end. And the **Commonwealth** would be one of their prime tools."

In Hambling's view, the NDP government is trying to monopolize all decision-making in the party. "As much as we like to say otherwise, that's where the power stems from. It's even smaller than that (the government's staff); in my experience it's the table officers of the executive," he charges.

The government's obsession with electoral politics, Hambling claims, poses the "fundamental question: do you want to proceed with socialism, or do you want to proceed with getting elected again. I fall on the socialistic side of the argument." He accuses government leaders of subordinating principles to taking office. "What the hell, by the time you get there you will forget why you wanted to be there." The Saskatchewan NDP government's record includes support of Trudeau's wage controls, many of his constitutional moves, and other violations of socialist principle.

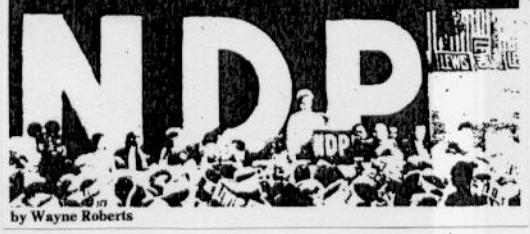
Hambling has not resigned from the party. He continues to believe that a strong base of socialists exists within the NDP. He is eager to become active in the riding associations.

It is ironic that the NDP brass moved to stifle the voice of a party editor at the very time New Democrats are complaining about the muzzled journalism of the Thompson and Southam news empires. The NDP leadership has been unable to offer any alternative to monopoly journalism or even to establish itself beside other journals of comment and criticism. This is part of the price New Democrats pay for the leadership's lack of commitment to a socialist movement.

Skip Hambling

As long as the needs of a movement, including the need for discussion and debate, take second place far back from the leadership's electoral ambitions, NDP newspapers will continue to lack ideas and vitality that can inspire the party.

Cross country with the NDP



by Wayne Roberts

Admit need for public ownership of oil

by Ed Reece

NDP leader Ed Broadbent has denounced the Liberal government's plans to 'Canadianize' the oil and gas industry. "The 50% solution is no solution," he stated.

The idea behind the policy is simple enough—if foreign capital can't be trusted to serve the public interest, then domestic capital can. Ottawa's announced goal is that of 50% Canadian ownership of the energy industry by 1990. It has also moved to expand Petrocan by incorporating Belgian-based Petrofina into its operations, and has plans to extend Petrocan's role in the field of exploration and development—that is, to use public investment to finance high-risk ventures that are unprofitable for the private sector.

Ottawa's proposals have provoked a tempest in the capitalist teapot for both foreign and Canadian-owned oil companies, who fear further government intervention in the industry. It has also created a storm in Alberta, where Ottawa's move is seen as a centralist attempt to skim the cream off a provincial resource.

The NDP, however, has labelled the Liberals' attempt at Canadianization as a "bit of a sham," to quote federal NDP energy critic Ian Waddell's remarks to a February convention of the Alberta NDP. Waddell has repeatedly emphasized that control of the Canadian energy industry by Canadian capitalists would result in no substantial improvements in the way that the industry functions.

As the multinationals have themselves stated, the question of ownership by Canadian or American capital is irrelevant. They are now looking for Canadian partners for joint ventures, to establish Canadian "ownership levels" that qualify for the new federal exploration grants. And as for Canadian oilmen, they too are also moving their money south of the border, where profit rates are bound to skyrocket as a result of the new Reagan administration's policy of decontrol.

Broadbent has called for Petrocan to begin buying out several U.S. oil majors, such as Texaco. Ironically, the points now being made by Broadbent and Waddell were first made by the Left Caucus at the last federal NDP convention. There, the Broadbent leadership talked merely of the Canadianization of the energy industry, without posing the need for public ownership as the principal tool of Canadianization. The Left Caucus position has now been confirmed by the logic of events themselves.

Opinion polls show that a majority of Canadians agree with the policy of public control of the energy sector. They have had enough of the price-gouging policies of the U.S. energy cartel.

The public attitude towards the energy industry lays the basis for a major NDP campaign to place the energy sector under public ownership, and to use it as a building block for the establishment of petrochemical and other industries.

Br Left points the way

As the economic and constitutional crisis deepens within Canada, revealing the flaws of the capitalist system, so too does the programmatic crisis of the NDP, revealing the flaws in the reformist perspective of the party's leadership. The perspective of piecemeal reform is becoming increasingly revealed as inadequate to solve the economic and political crisis.

Because of the inadequacy of its leadership, the NDP has not become a dynamic alternative to the old-time parties. It offers no perspective of resolving the constitutional crisis, breaking from the cold war atmosphere or solving the economic problems of the recession. Broadbent's backing for Trudeau's patriation package has humiliated the NDP, compromised the good name and socialist roots of the party and tied its political fate to the pro-capitalist Liberal Party.

The growing malaise in the party creates an obligation for the left in the party to move out boldly. Amidst the demoralization caused by the performance of our leaders, the left can take the initiative and popularize the call for a constituent assembly to determine Canada's future and to emphasize the party's clear anti-war, anti-NATO position which Broadbent is seeking to dump. If we take the initiative, the party can be revitalized with the left making gains.

Britain points the way. There, the labor party has rejected its right-wing leadership. As a result, British working people are now remaking a party that stands strongly in favor of unilateral disarmament and public ownership.

The left in Canada must follow the British example and provide a programmatic alternative to point the direction forward for the Party. Without such a development, the political expression of the working class will become corroded. The NDP will continue to reel from crisis to crisis, futilely relying upon personality-oriented campaigns and formulae to establish its credibility.

Despite this crisis and the opportunities it has opened up, the left has not responded vigorously. Although a decision taken by the left caucus at the last provincial convention in June called for regional conferences, the left caucus did not meet in Toronto until fall, months after similar meetings had taken place elsewhere. There is continual resistance to proposals for left initiatives and organization.

However, the mood is growing within the left to organize to defeat the party's NATO position at the coming federal convention. The upcoming Etobicoke NDP's conference on foreign affairs scheduled to feature MP Pauline Jewett and to promote Canada's withdrawal from NATO points out the vital educational role the left can now play. The need to organize for the federal convention this June and to offer an alternative program to the leadership has never been greater. The left must demonstrate real leadership to meet the challenge thrust upon it.

forward #44 Feb 1981

Unions, NDP joining Dowson defence fund

by Harry Paine

Support for the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, set up to meet legal expenses of the Dowson slander suit against the RCMP, continues to grow. The aim of the suit is to establish the legitimacy and legality of socialist thought in face of charges of subversion by the RCMP.

Possibly the best response we have received over the last month or so was a note from Doug Meggison of Halifax. He took the initiative to ask if we had any material on the case to circulate in his community. We promptly sent him several hundred copies of three different leaflets that we have recently put out. We consider the financing and publication of this literature provides one of the best ways to build support for the Dowson suit. We are only too happy to send copies to anyone who will assure us effective circulation.

The first leaflet is a tabloid-size newsprint sheet outlining the end-of-year state of the suit. It features the resolution on the RCMP passed by delegates at the Canadian Labor Congress convention, a report on two items of continued RCMP harassment — the Pratt-Whitney Three in Montreal and the **In Struggle** group in Halifax—and an attractive ad containing statements of solidarity by several eminent Canadians, with the heading **Support This Cry for Justice**. In a bold action, to make the widest possible impact across Canada, this ad was placed in the Saturday November 22 **Globe and Mail** at a cost of $1,000. Full-size 8½ x 11-inch reproductions, suitable for offset-printing, were circulated to many publications we thought might reproduce it in solidarity with SRDF. At this time we know that it is appearing in **Labour/Le Travailleur** published by the History Department of Dalhousie University, Halifax.

The second leaflet is this same ad, published separately as an 8½ x 11-inch leaflet. The third leaflet is a foolscap sheet outlining **What's At Stake — Dowson vs. RCMP.** It lists the names of our supporters, along with the statement of purpose they have signed.

Individual financial contributions are continuing to come in, in varying amounts from $10 to $50, from as far north as Whitehorse in the Yukon, and from scattered points from Ottawa, to Niagara-on-the-Lake, to Calgary. The B.C. provincial riding of Skeena sent in $50. It was followed by a contribution from the Carleton East Riding, and by five individual contributions collected at an annual NDP meeting in Waterford, Ontario. Le Syndicat de Professionales du Gouvernement du Quebec forwarded $100, along with a strong statement of solidarity with our efforts.

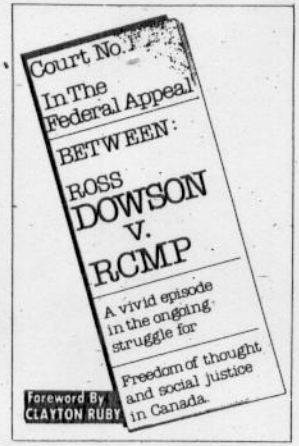
No doubt, the publication of the book **Dowson v. the RCMP**, financed with the aid of the Harry Hatfield Fund, will result in increased support for the suit being sent to The Socialist Rights Defence Fund, c/o Harry Paine, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

What they're already saying about "DOWSON v. RCMP"

" ...with the release of the McDonald Commission report on the RCMP 'dirty tricks' Dowson's case has suddenly become a **cause celebre**. As the only action in progress against the RCMP's own subversion of civil rights it has become the focal point of protest." **Alastair McColl, editor of** THE PEAK, **S.F.U.**

"Dowson's book is part of the process of fighting to protest civil liberties essential (to) the labor movement and the Left. It is also a useful record of RCMP harassment of the unions, the NDP and socialist groups. For these reasons, it deserves a wide circulation." **Editorial Board member, Ian Kellogg,** WORKERS ACTION

"I read it with considerable interest and appreciation. It makes a needed contribution—I say this without agreeing with your basic political platform." **John Sawatsky, author of** MEN IN THE SHADOWS (Doubleday $15.00)



Order your copy of "DOWSON v. RCMP"

$3.95 each or 5 copies $11.85 · by cheque or money order postpaid

ORDER FROM
Forward Publishing Association
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto M5C 2K1

Financed by the Harry Hatfield Fund and printed by union labor at Muskox Press.

You need *Forward* *Forward* needs you

by the Editors

What's black and white and read all over? **Forward** meets the test of readership with political leadership. Other socialist journals have contented themselves with political commentary removed from the possibility of influencing newly radicalizing workers. They remain "pure" by avoiding confrontation with reformism. **Forward** has confidently put itself into the centre of the fray.

Forward has consistently promoted the necessity of organizing a class-struggle left wing within the NDP to challenge the right wing leadership in the objective interests of the working class movement. While maintaining political independence, we at **Forward** have sought to intervene in both the NDP and labor movement with socialist approaches to Canada-U.S. relations, labor's struggles, RCMP harassment of the left and labor movements, self-determination for Quebec, the constitutional crisis, and international solidarity with the struggles of all workers and oppressed.

Forward's major goal is effective education in the most important radicalizing areas. We have attempted to bring to Marxist ideology the fresh renewal of ideas by making specific analyses of current situations, especially in regard to Canada, where we are duty bound to build the forces that will win socialism in our future. We aim to speak out clearly where serious discussions are taking place and to link up with socialist militants in the ongoing processes of the class struggle.

Opportunities for socialists are increasing. The fiasco of the constitutional crisis opens up continual possibilities to press for a mass constituent assembly. The rise of labor militancy directed against both the corporations and the state is serving to broaden the receptivity of Canadian workers to socialist alternatives. Victorious struggles in the Third World are shrinking imperialism's room to manoeuvre out of the economic crisis. In Britain, the left in the Labor Party is rapidly gaining influence among the working class in the party against the compromising and treacherous former leadership. And the workers of Poland are bringing fresh inspiration to the socialist project against the evils of Stalinist bureaucracy.

Unfortunately, while the objective conditions favor the work of **Forward**, we have failed to raise sufficient funds from our last fund drive (which only met half its goal) to allow us to publish on a regular basis. This is where you come in. We are asking you to dig a little and give us your financial support to carry us over the next year. We need $5,000 — a modest projection in the light of rampant inflation. We must attain it by the end of May.

Our future is in your hands. Please send your cheque or money order as soon as possible to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

Don't give to these beggars!

Support FORWARD

Subscribe!

Stamps or cheque
Forward Publishing Assn.
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

Name _____

Address _____

12 issue subscription $2.50
Bundle of 10 copies $2.00 pp.

It's not for me — it's for Chrysler

Trudeau ramming thru phoney 'patriation' deal

from the Feb.-March 1981 issue of FORWARD

by John Darling

The "Constitutional Express," with grim, determined Prime Minister Trudeau at the throttle and NDP leader Broadbent cheering from the caboose, is plunging ahead to derailment — a disaster not only for two leaders and two parties, but also the working people of Canada and Quebec who must sort out the tangled constitutional wreckage.

Trudeau's "constitutional package" aboard consists of unilateral patriation of the BNA Act, with amendments from Britain, along with an entrenched Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It got on the tracks only with the key western support of the New Democratic Party, but the gradient has become steeper with growing opposition, from 64% of Canadians (who favor simple patriation) and seven provincial governments—now eight as Saskatchewan deserts the federal camp and splits the NDP's forces.

In London, the Thatcher government may yet throw the switch, in spite of Trudeau's claim that a "three-line Whip" would be used to shunt the package through the Commons and the House of Lords, while "holding their noses" and passing the Charter to boot. While the British say they feel "morally bound" to observe the convention of obtaining the approval of a majority of provinces, in reality it was Canada that gave Britain trusteeship of the BNA Act by the Statute of Westminster in 1931 — and this because Canadians (read English Canada and Quebec) could never agree on an amending formula that would be agreeable to all (read satisfy Quebec that English Canada would not use its majority to endanger the French language and culture).

All the more must Quebec's fears be confirmed by federal amendments to the Charter of Rights — supported silently by the NDP leadership which was complicit in the campaign for "renewed federalism". Quebec, facing virtual emasculation of its French language Bill 101, has led off the court challenges by six provinces to the Trudeau constitutional package.

In a cynical tradeoff, mandatory bilingualism and a Charter of Rights clause ensuring minorities freedom to obtain English-language schooling, while applied to Quebec and Manitoba, is not applied to Ontario with its large francophone population. Both the Ontario NDP and the federal NDP caucus have been mired in this deal in order to ensure Ontario's support for the package. Renewed Native demands for greater guarantees for aboriginal rights, and the open intervention of federal Immigration Minister Axworthy to sabotage a women's conference on the constitution, have both made the NDP caucus' pompous praise of the constitutional package as "historic" ridiculous.

Saskatchewan NDP Premier Blakeney was initially a supporter of unilateral patriation as long as Broadbent had supposedly won an amendment recognizing provincial control of resources. But Blakeney has broken with Trudeau and split the NDP because Ottawa refuses to budge on the key issue of provincial rights to market their resources internationally. The premier's demand that federal referendum powers be curbed, and that the provinces have the right to hold referendums as well, was also turned down. Saskatchewan's differences with the federal caucus prompted Attorney-General Roy Romanow to declare that the future of the NDP is in jeopardy if the federal party continues its support for the constitutional package. Indeed, the NDP's position for abolition of the Senate was shamelessly cast aside when Trudeau made an amendment to restore the Upper House veto, an "improvement" Broadbent dutifully swallowed.

The Charter's total lack of mention of working peoples' rights was criticized by the BC Federation of Labor and the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions, which called for inclusion of the right to work, to organize into unions, and to strike.

The NDP should pull the emergency cord and stop the train. Broadbent's unilateral support for the Liberal package can irreparably harm the party — witness the resignation of a leading militant in Svend Robinson's Burnaby riding. NDP historian Desmond Morton decried the "sleaze" that the NDP is getting caught up in.

The process of a popularly-elected, widely representative constituent assembly is the only hope there is in Canada of writing a viable, lasting new Constitution. Only such an assembly can cut the Gordian knots that prevent solutions to the problem — above all the need to recognize Quebec's right of self-determination and resolving the Native people's aboriginal claims.

Only a constituent assembly can resolve the question which is splitting the NDP — control and development of Canada's resources in the interests of the working people — not the phoney "Canadianization" of the Liberal government which means continued subsidies to Shell and Imperial and stupendous payments for "takeovers" of small retail chains by Petro-Canada.

It's time for the NDP to get off the Constitutional Express, before it cracks up and entangles the party in the debris. Now is the time for the party to rise to its historic responsibility and to mobilize the membership for a discussion leading up to the convention this summer, where the concept of a constituent assembly can be debated as the first step in resolving the shape of a socialist constitution.

New forces call for constituent assembly

by the Editors

The most serious attempt to come to grips with the constitutional crisis contronting Canada was brutally shoved aside by the Trudeau government's special parliamentary constitutional committee. Ottawa's NDP Mayor, Marion Dewar, appearing before it on behalf of Canadian Connection, challenged the committee not to cut off public debate just as it is getting underway across the country — "not to stifle us as citizens of this country." "Why," she asked, "are we amending a British statute? Why aren't we writing a Canadian statute?"

Mayor Dewar outlined some of the key ideas projected in the Canadian Connection prospectus:

- "Our constitution belongs to all Canadians — past, present and future — and not solely to our governments. It is **our** basic statement of **who** we are, how we govern **ourselves**. Therefore it is not just a law. Nor is it only the agreement by which federal and provincial governments regulate their relationships.
- "The fifty three years of debate about patriation of the constitution have been largely a discussion among governments. The public has not been directly involved. The discussion has focussed on federal/provincial relationships and not on our lives, our history or our aspirations.
- "...Precisely because our constitution **is** our most fundamental statement about how we live together, under no circumstances can it be imposed on any of us in the hope that in time our resistance will diminish, or that we will change our minds."

Canadian Connections' aim: "to encourage a community-based movement...to enable Canadians to understand, participate in, and actually make a difference to the constitutional discussion," had the support of a wide range of representatives from church, women's, native peoples' and rights groups across the country. Among them were the primate of the Anglican Church, the chairman of the Presbyterian Church, the president of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, the president of the National Action Committee of the Status of Women, the president of the National Indian Brotherhood, the executive director of the National Anti-Poverty Organization, the president of the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped, the president of the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work, etc., etc.

After listening to Mayor Dewar, the government's committee went back to its dickering with NDP leader Broadbent who sucked his caucus into swallowing Trudeau's package in return for a few concessions. These can be deleted by Trudeau's house majority or scrapped entirely should he decide to back off and settle for the Tory's proposition for simple patriation.

Don't give to those beggars!

Support FORWARD!

Subscribe!

Stamps or cheque
Forward Publishing Assn.
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

Name _____

Address _____

12 issue subscription $2.50
Bundle of 10 copies $2.00 pp.

It's not for me — it's for Chrysler

Chrysler - pres

Parliament is the constituent assembly of the ruling class

Comes in the wake of the referendum

out to effect Canization of corporate interest

- resource sector

Senate - ground powers } stand with ord. cyprus - against

Don't believe in Bill of Rights a constitution

Bill of Rights
dont have a constitution
control of natural resources
— BNA act — Barry — opp West vs Canadian Union — agent re prov vs central Can

— Form + content
Form not irrelevant — rule by majorities

- Regional - class -

Question
Constituent assembly — withdraw

Constitution importance

Regina Manifesto — fundamental purpose

Dodo — party split — Ont constitutional proposals

Not modern Canada

- different points of view — Constituent Assembly

pro dom pros
Quebec first
discuss now

box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto M5C 2K1, Ont

forward

April 8, 1981

Dear _____!

In the efforts to promote a class struggle program with a socialist perspective in the mass movements that the Canadian workers have so far constructed -- the trade unions and the NDP -- it is fortunate that history is on our side. For, regardless of our personal desires, there are many aspects of these movements to which we are relatively powerless to make any substantial contribution.

Everyone can, of course, make a contribution to the financing and circulation of Forward. Our drive to put a new $5,000 financial base under our press by the end of June is on the order of the day. And we need and anticipate your support.

Forward is the public face of left wing views in the NDP and plays a vital role in informing and clarifying socialist tasks in the workers movement. The paper's role will become even more important in the immediate period because we have decided that we have no alternative but to fold up the Forward Bookstore. The store's lease has expired and the landlord is demanding a 70%, yes 70%, increase in rent. Continued inflation, the increasing monopolization of the book trade, and unbridled real estate speculation have combined to make locating to another suitable location impossible.

We will be losing a readily accessible centre which made available a wide range of books and pamphlets expressing the concerns and views of the entire left and which was staffed with regular hours six days a week. This is a setback for the left but one which we could see no way of overcoming without making undue demands on our supporters. We will be holding a giant clearance of the stock commencing May 2 until May 31 at 50% off.

This setback makes it all the more urgent that every possible effort be made to sustain Forward and to widen its impact. Our lack of full-time staff and our necessary involvement in the mass movement (several exhausting election campaigns in the last immediate period) and the exhilirating demands of the Dowson suit against the RCMP have restricted the number of issues we have managed to put to press. But as everyone in touch with any aspect of the radicalization -- particularly in the Toronto area -- knows, Forward is much more than a newspaper. It is handed out at all major events, often clueing right in on the immediate issue and placing it in the wider context of the struggle for a socialist Canada. Its press run is two to three times larger than any other paper of the left. It is its appearance as an agitator and organizer that has managed to win it a continuing new subscription base.

To put out Forward on such a scale requires a lot of time and of course considerable sums of money. We think that what we have been able to do for the Dowson suit, which could not have been even contemplated without Forward, has alone been worth it. The left in the NDP has not yet been able to put out a broad paper of its own. But Forward has been providing a powerful stimulant and is setting a challenging precedent.

Your contribution, no matter how large or small is urgently needed. If it is necessary to send it in the form of a post-dated cheque -- or even a series of cheques oveer several months -- by all means do so. Make your cheque(s) or money order payable to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, M5C 2K1.

In solidarity,

Gord Doctorow

Gord Doctorow

444444444444 - May 22/81

What kind of program should socialists formulate and advance in the union movement and in its political arm- - The New Democratic Party

presented by Harry Kopyto (Parkdale)

at Harry Kopyto's- 137 Viewmount Ave, subway station-Glencairn

Subscribe to

Help circulate

$2.50 for 12 issues, postpaid

forward in the interests of working people

Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C

A series of FOUR discussions held under the auspices of

forward

Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto,

a paper that stands for socialism and the NDP

for further info-366205?

11111111111 - April 10/81

The contradictorary character of the NDP and where it is going

-the split in the Federal NDP caucus on the constitution

-electoral defeat in Ontario

April 10 8 p.m.

presented by Ross Dowson (St. George)

222222222222 --April 24

The NDP as anti-war party

Broadbent's challenge to scrap the party's opposition to NATO -unilateralism and the European Left

April 24 8.p.m.

presented by Bob Kasher (St.David's)

at Bob Kashur's - 18 Howland Rd. north from Gerrard, 1st E of Broadview

333333333333 - May 8

What should be the NDP's program for Canada on the world arena ?

-the so-called North-South debate

Canada as imperialist & satellite of the US State Department in the 3rd World

presented by Gord Doctorc (Oriole)

May 8 8 p.m.

at Harry Kopyto's - 137 Viewmount Ave Subway-Glencairn

-at Bob Kashur's

CLASSES I & II will be held at the home of Harry Kopyto at 137 Viewmount Ave., just east of the Allen Expressway and the Spadina subway line (Glencairn station). Time: 8:00 p.m.

For further information on the classes and on the Camp Poundmaker weekend (including if you need transportation), call Zane Boyd at 964-8245.

CLASS III will be held at Camp Poundmaker near Napanee, Ont.--150 miles east of Toronto. (East of Belleville on 401 to Deseronto side road, north 3 miles to Tulloch Road, west to Dowson mailbox.)

Spend Saturday and Sunday, or the entire weekend. Bring a friend or two. Bring the family. Communal meals and lodging will be available Saturday and Sunday at a modest cost. Bring your own bedding, flashlights, insect repellant, bathing suits, etc.

The Road to Socialism

—a series of three classes with discussion

FRIDAY, JULY 13

HOW THE PIONEER SOCIALISTS VISUALIZED THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION TAKING PLACE

... the General Strike

... the Commune

... Parliament and the State

... Workers' Councils

... the Colonial and the Capitalist World

... the concept of internationalism

Class leader:
ZANE BOYD

FRIDAY, JULY 20

THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST WARS AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONS

... the 1905 Petrograd Soviet

... World War I

... Classical Marxism -- from feudalism to capitalism to workers' power

... Lenin's April Theses & Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution

Class leader:
GORD DOCTOROW

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5

THE THREE SECTORS OF WORLD REVOLUTION AND THEIR INTER-RELATION

... Socialism in One Country?

... Eastern Europe's Unfinished Revolutions

... Latin America and the Cuban Way

... Europe and America -- the critical points

Class leader:
ROSS DOWSON

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 7 No. 2 (45) ISBN 0700-9038 Summer 1981 Toronto 25 cents

Poles struggle for socialism

by Harry Kopyto

The emergency congress of the Polish Communist Party slated for July 14 to 18 will witness an intense political confrontation between supporters of democratization and the hardline Stalinist elements attempting to hold back the current of liberalization in the country.

The background for this crisis within the Communist Party is the revolutionary upsurge of the Polish people which is cracking up the bureaucratic clique dominating the country as a result of the great political ferment that has been seething for almost a full year.

The crisis within the CP has left the Polish party bureaucrats in disarray. The decision to hold the congress itself marks a victory for those forces who have been organizing around demands for direct and secret elections of delegates, for the ouster of virtually the entire politboro membership and in the words of one activist member, "a proper restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles."

The pressures for reform emanating from the political movement heralded by the Solidarity trade union formation has caused the dominant liberal Kania leadership within the CP to make concession after concession. Despite the dire threats from the Kremlin to the central committee's conference in mid-June, the Kania leadership has pledged to continue its basic course towards liberalization. In fact, six cabinet members, including a justice minister who had failed to prosecute police for attacking Solidarity members, were unceremoniously ousted from their positions immediately following the plenum.

With one million Solidarity members sharing membership in the CP, the mass-based party has reflected the profound general turmoil within the country itself. A senior Politiburo member, Azimierz Barcikowski, warned in late April that meetings of rank and file activists in the party have seriously weakened the Soviet Union's faith in the party's ability to overcome the crisis. He added that the party was spiritually, morally and politically weakened and that 160,000 members had handed in their cards since last summer. "It is within the party that the real revolution is taking place," he said.

The dynamic of the struggle is

Continued on page 5

High hopes from French SP victory

by Bob Kasher

The Socialist Party's stunning victory in both the recent French parliamentary and presidential elections was a vote for socialism, giving Mitterand an overwhelming mandate to transform French society from top to bottom. The majority given the Socialist Party, and the huge over 60% majority racked up by all the parties of the left gives a clear indication that the French people are fed up with the capitalist politics of former president Giscard D'Estaing. The Reaganite policies of his right-wing rival, Jacques Chirac, were also rejected despite his demagogic attempts at populism.

Mitterand [right] with CP leader Marchais.

Socialist strength was firmly based in the French working class with the party drawing particularly well in the industrial areas in and around Paris. One of the important factors in this tremendous growth was the promulgation of the Socialist platform of 1979, first articulated by the Socialist Party's left-wing CERES group.

The victory of the left was, however, more than a simple consolidation of leftist support behind the Socialist Party. The SP was able to significantly expand the base of the left in France with an increase in popular support 10-15% higher than that garnered by the Union of the Left in the seventies.

The CERES group has helped give the Socialist Party tremendous momentum on the French left, helping it break many stranglehold held by conservative Communist Party union and district leaderships.

The Communist Party had previously surpassed the electoral strength of the SP although the CP based itself on simple reformist platforms despite the radical appeal of its name. But its reformist opportunism was undercut by the more radical reformism of the SP. The French workers, facing mounting unemployment, acute housing shortages, and skyrocketting inflation, opted for a departure from the policies and parties associated with the old regime. This provided the breach for the SP to step into and set the stage for the virtual wipe-out of the CP as a significant electoral force.

Moreover, the CP was undoubtedly hurt by its slavish pro-Moscow positions. Its shameful support for the Soviet bureaucracy's policies in a Europe witnessing the Polish people's struggle for socialist democracy also contributed to its debacle.

In spite of the CP's weakness, Mitterand and the Socialists properly included them in a cabinet of the left, giving the new government a solid base among all forces of the working class in France and forming a principled united front of the key labor forces.

The major contradiction in the Mitterand campaign was his pro-NATO position which ties France politically to the international network of U.S. imperialism. The SP left is now confronted with the key task of winning the party over to a clear anti-imperialist, independent foreign policy.

Notwithstanding this serious weakness, the SP's bold program clearly met a broad positive response, accounting for a 10-15% increase in the left's overall popular vote. The program, which Mitterand has begun to initiate since his election, includes nationalizing 11 major corporations and banks, a 25% tax hike for the 100,000 wealthiest French citizens, windfall profits taxes on oil companies and banks, 800 million dollars to create 50,000 new jobs and homes, $3.6 billion dollars in increased social services and an increase in France's minimum wage.

For an antiwar NDP

(#45)

FIFTH HORSEMAN OF THE APOCALYPSE

By the Editors

The overriding challenge before delegates to the NDP federal convention this July is to transform the NDP into Canada's antiwar party.

The struggle against war and for unilateral disarmament is impelling hundreds of thousands of people into the streets of West Europe, transforming some of the most staid pro-West labor parties into militant antiwar organizations and challenging the plans of the U.S. ruling circles to turn Europe into a nuclear arsenal through NATO, and possibly into a burial ground for its peoples.

Led by Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which has won the British Labour Party over to a position of unilateral disarmament, antiwar forces have focused their immediate campaigns against the massive increase in nuclear missile bases envisaged in Reagan's stepped-up war drive plans for NATO. With the assistance of the Protestant Church, the youth sections of the German Social Democratic and Free Democratic parties and fifty other organizations, 70,000 people marched to block such missile installations in Hamburg in late June. The march followed the collection of close to a million signatures protesting the nuclearization of Germany through NATO.

To these countries can be added Denmark, Greece, Norway, France, Italy, Spain and every other major European country. The rise of the new antiwar movement has taken place in response to the accelerating U.S. war drive which threatens to increase the U.S. military budget from $162 billion a year to $304 billion by 1985. This increase is three times greater than the increase of military expenditures throughout the period it was fighting the Vietnamese people.

While the European labor movement seeks to oppose Europe's increased NATO burden and its ancillary nuclearization policies, Canada finds itself already thoroughly integrated by the Liberals and Tories into the U.S. war machine through NATO and NORAD. It is an open secret that the U.S. regards Canada as the most likely target for fallout from a potential nuclear conflict, yet Ottawa accepts this prospect without protest. In this context, the NDP has the responsibility to project itself as Canada's antiwar party. It must unequivocally call for a clear break from the NATO-NORAD military pacts. And it must put an end to retreats on party policy such as the parliamentary caucus voting for continuation of the military expenditures for these alliances and Broadbent's betrayal of the party's anti-U.S. imperialist positions in the last federal election.

The growing antiwar sentiment in Canada, though still in its infancy has already witnessed thousands taking to the streets in protests against Canada's support for the U.S. in El Salvador. The growing rejection of U.S. dominance over the Canadian political state and economy augurs well for any political party which chooses to campaign for an independent foreign policy reflecting the desire for Canadians to end their satellitic role to the U.S. and steer their own course towards peace. The NDP must meet the challenge.

In this issue

Milner on Que. p.2
Keable Report p.3
CLC & autonomy p.5
Constitution p.6
El Salvador junket p.7

The winds of change in the trade unions

by the Editors

The gap between the rank and file trade union activists and the union leadership has been widening. The present business-as-usual office holders have been coasting along on the apathy of the ranks which, of course, they deplore, though their policies continue to reinforce it.

But there are ever-increasing signs that there is a growing layer of younger, educated, articulate male, with an increasing number of female workers, who want to turn the unions into fighting instruments capable of breaking through the present pattern of contracts that rarely keep wages in line with inflationary wage cuts and provide little or no defence at all against shutdowns, layoffs and mounting unemployment. Many of them see the unions as possible instruments in a struggle for fundamental social change.

An important victory for these forces has been struck by the election of Sudbury Steelworkers Local 6500 President David Patterson to

Continued on page 2

forward #45-Summer 1981

NDP's response to Liberal oil ripoff

by Peter Hutton

After eight years, seven volumes and thousands of words, Robert J. Bertrand, the former director of investigation and research under the Combines Investigation Act, issued a report in early March telling us what we knew instinctively all along: the major oil companies have been ripping off Canadian consumers through price-fixing deals and predatory market practices against independent competitors for years. The only surpise was by how much.

The bottom line is an extra $12.1 billion between 1958 and 1973. The companies arbitrarily jacked up Alberta crude prices to gain $3 billion, ran an inefficient marketing system through a multiplicity of high overhead, low volume service stations for another $5.2 billion and artificially raised the cost of imported oil by paying an inflated price to their multinational owners, fattening their profits at Canadian expense for the balance of the $12.1 billion. Invested elsewhere in the economy, these funds could have netted nearly $15,000 in extra goods and services per Canadian family in 1980.

The issue is a political hot potato for the government. While the report is based on data up to 1973, Bertrand says the practices get worse, and in his words, "it's time to stop (it)." For his trouble, Bertrand was given the boot, dumped, you might say, into a new job with the Anti-Dumping Tribunal in early May.

The Federal government has to be sensitive about the issue. The Bertrand Report has been referred to the Restrictive Trade Practices Commission for a further investigation to take up to two years ostensibly because the existing Competition Laws in Canada are not strong enough to convict the companies of any offence.

Ed Broadbent and the NDP used every opportunity to press the government to lay criminal charges and to roll back prices. In a white paper issued in support of their attack on the government, the NDP estimated that 3¢ a gallon would be equivalent to the $12 billion estimated rip-off of the consumer. The NDP also restated party policy that Imperial Oil, the largest of the Canadian majors, should be purchased and amalgamated with Petrocan.

The general thrust of their response was to emphasize how Petrocan could be used as a public vehicle to control the industry. Increased public investment in Petrocan through provincial crown corporations, co-ops, and credit unions was also proposed.

Bertrand calls for structural changes to lessen oil company control over the marketing and retailing sectors of the industry—pipelines and service station outlets. The report calls for Petrocan to take a major role in refining and distributing oil products to a new independent marketing industry based on existing independents and facilities divested by the majors.

Industry response to the report was quite simple and accurate. Denying that anything illegal had transpired, Imperial Oil Chairman Jack Armstrong described the report as "philosophically oriented toward a hostile view of the integrated petroleum companies." The purpose of Bertrand's report could not be summed up better, than by saying that it is a final call for a traditional free market economy maintained by public enterprise. Though this goal may be a fanciful dream, the research that prompted it is important for anyone concerned about Canadian energy policy.

forward #45 Summer 1981

Key challenges before party discussed at Left Caucus

by Bob Kasher

The Ontario Left Caucus took an important step in organizing itself as an effective force within the NDP at a spring conference on May 23 sponsored by the Toronto chapter of the Left Caucus. Delegates took militant positions on a series of issues coming before the NDP's federal convention in Vancouver, on the disastrous electoral showing in the Ontario election, and on preparations for a bigger left conference in September.

Attendance included over 125 delegates from all parts of Ontario with over a third from outside Toronto. The delegates opposed Broadbent's line of support for NATO/NORAD, calling for Canadian withdrawal. They reaffirmed a socialist economic policy of nationalization of key economic sectors under workers control.

The caucus has come out forthrightly for the NDP to call for a popular constituent assembly to decide the fate of Canada's constitution. While maintaining previous positions on women's issues, the caucus agreed to the formation of a Left Women's Caucus at Vancouver. Native rights and environmental issues were also discussed.

The recent electoral debacle of the provincial NDP provoked a lively discussion on the various problems facing the ONDP in its approach to the electorate including its lack of a consistent and visible alternative identity. Issues regarding the impact of the federal party's constitutional position on the provincial election, as well as the slow erosion of the riding association as a force for discussion and education, were also raised. It is hoped that in the September conference the left will be able to offer some concrete solutions in dealing with these critical problems facing Ontario New Democrats.

Finally the left caucus launched its plans for establishing a September Conference to prepare for February's provincial leadership convention. The conference will in the course of two days attempt to deal not only with questions of party policy, program, leadership and direction facing the ONDP, but will also attack questions dealing with party organization, with how the left can move forward as a constructive regenerating force within the ONDP by helping to open up a necessary discussion on where we are going and how we hope to get there.

The success of the conference is a harbinger of the new life that is beginning to reappear in the Canadian left. Like Dave Patterson's victory in the Steelworkers union, it shows the left has an opportunity, by reorganizing and reasserting itself, to become a major force in Canadian politics.

NORAD slips thru, NDP caucus silent

by John Bentley

The Broadbent leadership apparently is not prepared to wait for the membership to decide at convention whether the party should abandon its traditional opposition to NORAD.

It has already abrogated that decision by silently acquiescing to renewal of the agreement during the Reagan visit to Ottawa last March.

External Affairs Minister Mark McGuigan used the occasion to table an exchange of notes in parliament constituting "an agreement between (the U.S. and Canada) to renew the North American Aerospace Defence Command NORAD agreement for another five years."

"These notes," McGuigan stated briefly on March 11, "were signed in Ottawa this morning by the Minister of National Defence, myself, and the Secretary of State Haig."

There were no objections from the NDP benches nor did the party leadership subsequently question the agreement. The caucus' astonishing silence amounted to tacit acceptance of the NORAD agreement in defiance of party policy which has repeatedly called for Canada to withdraw from the military alliance with the U.S.

The Broadbent leadership opposes the party position, but until such time as it is changed at convention—and there is little evidence that is going to happen soon—the proper response for a responsible leadership would have been to challenge renewal of the accord and to press for an emergency parliamentary debate under Standing Order 43.

A more principled leadership would have also initiated a spirited campaign against NORAD outside parliament, something which would have attracted considerable popular support in the midst of growing alarm over the massive U.S. arms buildup and threatened military involvement in Central America.

Much of this support would have undoubtedly come from the 5,000 angry demonstrators who greeted Reagan in Ottawa March 10, and the forces which they represent. The demonstration, the largest of its kind since the Vietnam War, attacked U.S. policy in El Salvador and the U.S. government's refusal to take steps against industrial polluters responsible for acid rain fallout in Canada.

The demonstration reflected a rapidly resurfacing antiwar and anti-imperialist sentiment in Canada bringing together the most progressive sectors of the Canadian population: trade unionists, youth, women, Québécois, gay and Native activists and others. They represent the party's natural constituency.

In yet another example of wanting to be all things to all people, Broadbent addressed the demonstration and endorsed its objectives in the morning, then joined in condemning it in the House of Commons in the afternoon.

The condemnation was occasioned by a motion introduced by the Conservatives and seconded by the Liberals, both of whom had every reason to want to discredit the unexpectedly large and vocal turnout.

The motion "deplored the attempt by certain minorities to drown out" Reagan and Trudeau, "assured the President of the United States that this is in no way typical of Canadian hospitality," and "commended the Prime Minister of Canada for his impromptu remarks at the conclusion of the ceremony admonishing those who performed a regrettable act."

Its Tory sponsor, Tom Cossitt, pointedly called on "members of the New Democratic Party, who I know espouse the doctrine of freedom of speech" to endorse the motion, and the caucus dutifully complied.

The caucus was used. What underlay the motion was not the hecklers' alleged suppression of free speech by Trudeau and Reagan, but an orchestrated attempt by the Liberals and Conservatives to discredit a highly effective action by rank-and-file New Democrats and their allies whose objectives were fully consistent with party principles.

The demonstrators should have been commended. Instead, the caucus' hasty endorsement of the insulting motion was not only pathetic in its pandering to the Tories and Liberals, but grossly disloyal to our own members and to the thousands of potential new supporters demonstrating outside.

forward #45 Summer 1981

An open letter to NDP leader Broadbent

Dear Ed:

I hope that, with the results of the Ontario election fresh in mind, the national NDP will reconsider its general policy line, And I do beg that you will give a lead.

The two most striking things about the Ontario results both seem to me to point to the same conclusion. The two things I mean are, first, the decline in the voter turnout to a new low of 57%; and the second, the drop in the NDP vote from 28% to 21% of those who voted, a loss of a quarter of the votes, which happened to bring a loss of a third of the seats (we can't blame the electoral system, for even if we had had proportional representation, the NDP would have lost a quarter of its seats).

The Ontario results would not have been too surprising if the country were now in a prosperous boom period. But we are not. And sober predictions from government and business sources give us no reason to expect that we ever will be. It needs no skill reading between the lines of their pronouncements to see that they have little hope that the present alliance of government and corporate capital can do anything effective about inflation and unemployment. They have virtually admitted, while strenuously denying, the incompetence of state-aided capitalist enterprise: the most that can be done, in their view, is to keep up the welfare stuff as far as the economy can afford it (which is a little less far every year).

The prevailing alliance of government and private enterprise may have admitted the incompetence of capitalism, but the NDP has not. The NDP seems so far behind the times that it still stands for welfare-state capitalism. To the uncommitted voter disturbed by gnawing inflation, and to the working-class voter disturbed by that and threatened or victimized by unemployment, an NDP which still goes along with welfare capitalism is not much of an alternative to the old parties—they are also committed to welfare capitalism and they are more experienced, and so presumably more efficient, in running it.

So, of the voters who should be voting NDP, a lot don't bother to vote, and a lot vote for the parties more experienced in co-operating with corporate capitalism.

If you accept my premise of the present and future incompetence of capitalism, however state-aided, the conclusion is plain: the NDP should go beyond welfare capitalism. It should tell the voters (what more and more of them are likely, with any kind of lead, to realize that capitalism now can provide only creeping impoverishment, and that if there is any future, it is in a rapid move to socialism.

The debate within the NDP about whether it should steer to the left or to the centre has sometimes been represented as one between a lofty ideal and realistic strategy for getting a significant measure of power. If that was ever the choice, it is no longer so: the centrist strategy is not realistic, it is disastrous.

It is no use saying that the NDP must edge to the right because the electoral mood everywhere is so plainly to the right. A rightist mood due to disillusion with centrist compromise governments, and to the lack of a clearly alternative party on the left, cannot be remedied by the only possible alternative party taking the path of compromise. The realistic course is surely now a plain move back to the left.

Of course, it will take some time to get such a change debated and endorsed by the party as a whole, but the lead which you and your closest advisers choose to give will make all the difference. Now is a good time to begin.

Yours sincerely, C.B. Macpherson, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto. March 1981.

C.B. Macpherson is a political economist and scholar of international reputation. Among his writings are; The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, etc. This letter has been circulated by the Alberta Woodsworth-Irvine Foundation and the Ontario Left Caucus.

More than meets the eye in Ed's El Salvador junket

forward
#45 Summer 1981

by Gord Doctorow

Ed Broadbent's recent two-week mission on behalf of the Socialist International (SI) to Central America was supposed to gather the facts about the civil war in El Salvador and to promote a negotiated peace. It was no surprise that he failed to find a formula which could suit both the right-wing military regime and the broad opposition coalitions grouped into the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR) and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Army. The NDP leader, who is a vice-president of the SI, an international alliance of 43 parties which call themselves socialist or social-democratic (including the NDP), reported his views in the press and House of Commons in mid-June.

Ed Broadbent and NDP Environment critic Jim Fulton [right] march with protesters in front of the U.S. embassy in Ottawa at an El Salvador solidarity rally.

The facts are clear. The military junta protects the interests of a small group of powerful families against the rest of the population. Land reform for the peasants is a fraud. The only law that prevails is that of the death squads who mercilessly torture and murder, backed by U.S. arms and military "advisers." The regime and U.S. state department (representing the interests of the imperialist corporations) agree only to future elections which would effectively exclude opposition candidates because they and their supporters would become open targets for the right. The right is estimated to have murdered over 20,000 people in the last few years.

On the other side, the FDR and guerilla army encompasses peasants, intellectuals, trade unionists, Catholic priests, and even garrisons of defected soldiers. Some of the top leaders have expressed to Broadbent their desire for a negotiated settlement, if possible, but without illusions about its likelihood.

But a negotiated settlement is an agreement that would be imposed from outside by other countries like the U.S. or Canada without resolving any of the basic social conflicts. Just as in Vietnam where the 1954 Geneva Accords were to solve the civil war, they became merely the prelude to a bloodier, more prolonged conflict in which U.S. imperialism and its stooges were able to inflict great damages against a popular national revolution. Then, in Vietnam, as now in El Salvador, the right of the people to achieve their own solutions without outside interference constitutes their basic right to self-determination. It also permits the masses to overcome their oppressive conditions that much sooner.

The SI and the NDP are officially in firm support of the opposition forces in El Salvador. They both condemn the U.S. and the junta. In fact, while Broadbent was on tour, the international secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, Pierre Schori, in a press interview during a forum on Latin America in Mexico, stated that the SI "will never abandon our support for forces that struggle for liberty in Latin America." Broadbent's response was to publicly attempt to disassociate the SI's position from that of Mr. Schori!

Broadbent bent over backwards to play the role of neutral statesman. He appealed to the U.S. state department which gave him a public brushoff. He even stooped to smearing the El Salvadorean struggle in his warning to the Reagan administration of the terrible possibility that a "radically Marxist-Leninist regime, undemocratic, **state-dominated, hostile to the U.S.**" (sic) might result, if the civil war persisted. He servilely offered the compromise of "a moderate left (regime) ... with **mixed private and public sector economy, and [which] will likely be neutral to the U.S.**" as the promise of a negotiated peace.

Never mind that the armed struggle in Nicaragua resulted in a genuinely popular democracy. Or that the 1972 democratically-elected government in El Salvador was overthrown in a U.S.-backed military coup. Or that the democratically-elected "moderate left" government in Chile was drowned in blood in 1973 by U.S.-supplied counter-revolutionaries.

Fortunately, Broadbent failed to achieve his goal. Canada's External Affairs Minister McGuigan demagogically accused Broadbent of helping to prolong the conflict (as a cover for the Liberal government's craven support for the sham of elections). This has left Broadbent in the embarrassing position of unsuccessful ambassador for capitalist stability in El Salavador. His RCMP escort and the unofficial aid he received from Canadian embassies in the region have compromised his integrity among working people.

What could be his purpose? Could it be that this effort by Broadbent was meant to improve his public image as NDP members grow more critical of his reprehensible role of identifying with the Liberals on the constitutional issue? If so, Broadbent's only success has been to further compromise his tattered integrity and, along with it, the party's independent, working class and socialist image.

The party's position of unconditional support to the revolutionary masses in their armed struggle is the only and real democratic alternative. The call for negotiated peace is an abrogation of the right of self-determination of the people of El Salvador and can only result in another Vietnam, or worse—another Chile.

Environmental meeting fizzles

Feelings of disillusionment with the NDP as an electoralist and reform-of-capitalism party, and the erratic character of environmental struggles lacking a central focus were behind the proposal to launch a new party. But the majority of the 120 environmentalist activists from 25 groups gathered from across British Columbia at Douglas College's Coquitlam campus last month proved unwilling to opt for an alternative party.

The low turnout and lack of representatives from groups considered to be important disappointed the organizers. The anarchistic and personal life style concerns of many resulted in a steady dissipation of forces until, at the end of the second day when it came to discuss resolutions, only 40 persons attended. They were unable to adopt any organizational resolutions.

Rabbi Berger with Israel Shahak [right] at Toronto symposium.

Jewish rally hears critics of Israel

Hundreds of Toronto Jews attended a symposium on Jewish alternatives to Zionism held in Toronto in May to hear Israel's chief human rights advocate, Israel Shahak accuse the Israeli state of systematically attempting to obliterate the national political and civil rights of its Arab people.

The meeting marked a significant breakthrough for non-Zionist elements in the Jewish community, reflecting the profound turmoil that has resulted from the right wing shift of the Israeli state and its increasing reliance on the support of imperialist and right wing elements throughout the world.

Initiated by the Toronto-based Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews, the conference which was a result of a united front of various Jewish organizations, also heard alliance president Abie Weisfeld present a rounded critique of the Jewish establishment for equating non-Zionism with self-hatred and eliminating all dissent within the Jewish community on the question of Israel.

In his speech, Shahak, who had come from Israel to speak at the conference, condemned Israel's policy of permitting criminal acts by pro-Zionist hooligans against Arabs while destroying the property and homes of innocent Arab relatives of so-called Arab terrorists in a policy reminiscent of Hitler's "collective punishment" treatment of the Jews themselves. He described the process of cultural genocide against the Palestinian people which, among other things, forbade pictures of rustic scenes from being displayed within the Arab community when such pictures contained colors similar to those contained in the Palestinian flag.

Rabbi Elmer Berger, a further participant who came from the United States for the meeting, spoke of the legitimacy of non-Zionist attitudes within the Jewish community, and attacked Zionism on religious grounds.

Labourites want troops out of Northern Ireland

The hunger strike and the deaths of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes and co-thinkers in their heroic struggle for political status for Irish Republican prisoners, is shaking the British Labour party/Tory bipartisan policies in Northern Ireland.

Following Labour's regaining control of the powerful Greater London Council, the new Labour leader of the council, Ken Livingstone, declared "If I had been living in Fermanagh I would have been working for Bobby Sand's election. The IRA are fighting for their national freedom and their prisoners are as much prisoners of war as our soldiers in Germany in the Second World War. If we want to see an end to violence," he continued, "we should get out."

Tony Benn

Tony Benn, the leader of the left wing of the Labour Party, currently campaigning for the post of deputy leader of the party, in an interview on May 12 called for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. "There is a very widespread feeling which I share, " he said, "that the present policy has reached a dead end, that the idea of maintaining a standing army in Northern Ireland to maintain law and order without a political initiative is failing, has failed and is likely to fail."

"The British government has no long-term future in Ireland," he continued on to say, that "the partition of Ireland was a crime against the Irish people" and that the "British troops cannot solve the problem."

On another front, People's Democracy (PD) has called for a united electoral front in the Republic of Ireland of the forces that had been in the Bobby Sands campaign. On May 20, two members of PD, an Irish Trotskyist organization, were elected to the Belfast City Council in Northern Ireland.

Fund drive ends close to its goal

by the Editors

As we go to press, the Forward Fund Drive pledges are getting close to the $4,000 mark—$1,000 short of our target goal. Certainly we regard this as a partial success but we hope to make the whole amount by last-minute pledges, as we close the books.

Forward can play an important role in the next while. There is a left mood developing in the party out of the after-shock of the Ontario election where unprincipled opportunism failed utterly at the polls. Mr. Broadbent's cozening up to the Liberal government on the constitutional issue has so badly compromised the provincial parties' fortunes that the Saskatchewan party has had to take its distance from the federal party. The dissident mood is so powerful and open that the NDP leader in New Brunswick has called for Broadbent's resignation.

Forward must continue to promote a militant, socialist perspective to meet the developing consciousness within the party. It must also serve to remind socialists outside the party that they are irrelevant outside the arena where great events portend the reshaping of working class politics in Canada.

The socialist option is ours to win —but it requires the sustained voice of a militant socialist press. We can all make a contribution. You can makes yours by sending in a cheque or money order to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St.P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto M5C 2K1, Ont.

orward

Sept 17/81

Dear friends.

Enclosed please find the latest issue of our paper Forward. As you will note it is devoted to carrying the complete text of the Solidarity program in English.

We increased our press run considerably so that mass distributions could be carried out by any + all who care to do so. We have already carried out an extensive circulation in the Toronto area and Hamilton.

Perhaps your organization would like to help in this process. We can supply you copies in almost any number at cost, plus transit.

They cost approximately 5 cents each

Sincerely

Ross Dowson

forward

OCP

Sept 7/81

Dear Comrades

Enclosed please find a copy of the letter we did with your translation of the Solidarity Program. We think that it is very effective. We gave you a good credit for the use of the translation — as you will see —

We have already circulated a considerable number — about 5M — to several of the Labor Day parades and to the Film Festival showing a Polish movie on Solidarity here and door to door in a heavily concentrated area of Polish-Canadians. We are offering copies to all and any at cost — approx 8 cents a copy. Several enquiries as to use of the type have come in — we are asking them to share the cost of type-setting — possibly a paper that is circulated in the Latin American milieu + in Guyanese itself will be picking this up

Fraternally

Rod Dowson

Inside Poland today

Program of Solidarity

For Workers Control

For Socialist Democracy

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 7 No. 3 [46] ISBN 0700-8038 September 1981 Toronto 25 cents

Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing precipitated Gdansk Shipyard strike, addressing rally.

Program (#46) of the Sept 1981 Polish trade union—Solidarity

I. Basic Values

Our union was formed barely half a year ago as a result of the struggle of the workers, supported by the whole country. Today we are a powerful social force, encompassing millions of members. Thanks to this, all working people in Poland can at last advance their common aims with dignity and effectiveness. We were born out of the protest against injustice, humiliation, and abuse. We are an independent and self-governing union of working people of all regions and occupations. We defend the rights, dignity, and interests of all workers.

We want to peacefully shape the life of our country in accordance with patriotic ideals, social justice, and democratic rights. As a trade union, we do not aim to replace the government in performing its tasks, but we do want to represent the interests of working people in relation to the state. We will thus defend the rights of the individual, the citizen, and the worker. At the same time, we do not shirk our responsibility for the destiny of our people and country.

1. The best national traditions, the ethical principles of Christianity, the political banner of democracy, and the social thought of socialism — these are the four main sources of our inspiration.

We feel a deep attachment to the entire legacy of Polish culture, which is rooted in European culture, with a strong tie to Catholicism, but also with links to quite varied religious and philosophical traditions. We feel a very close bond with the generations of Poles who have struggled for national liberation and social justice. They have left us a tradition of openmindedness and brotherhood, of civic responsibility for the Polish Republic and of support for equality before the law. Therefore, we have room for everyone, regardless of philosophy, nationality, or political conviction.

2. The idea that working people should join together means that we rate very highly the values that grow out of collective action. These include solidarity—after which we have named our union—comradeship, the capacity for sacrifice, and the willingness to contribute for the benefit of the union and for the broader interests of society as well. Finally, one of the values must be the idea of brotherhood among working people in a common front against the exploiters, regardless of the banners and slogans under which their exploitation is masked.

3. Our basic task—the defense of working people—is based on the principle of observing social justice. We shall strive to have this principle recognized as the basis for all state activities. We want it to become the foundation of all solutions in the domains of social policy and the organization of collective life.

To us, social justice is based on the inherent integrity of the individual, the dignity of the worker and his labor. We want the principle of the dignity of the individual to permeate the entire life of our union and to be the basic building stone of a new society.

From the principles of social justice and the dignity of the individual, it follows that all people are basically equal. We shall therefore press for the realization of egalitarianism in society.

We recognize the principle that wages depend on the quantity and quality of labor, as well as the difficulty and hazards of the job ("to each according to their work"),

Continued on page 2

A crucial document

By the Editors

The editors of **Forward** are devoting this entire issue to the publication of the complete text of the program of the independent Polish trade union movement, Solidarity. This document first appeared in the April issue of **Tygodnik Solidarnosc** (Solidarity Weekly), the third issue of the union's national newspaper.

It was drawn up for circulation and discussion by the union's more than ten million members, about 90% of the working class, in preparation for the first national congress of the union which assembled early this month in Gdansk. It was the strike of the Gdansk shipyard workers which just one year ago ignited a series of massive struggles which swept across the country forcing the Polish Communist Party government to recognize that Solidarity had in effect pushed aside and replaced its official trade union machinery to become the authentic voice of the Polish working class.

As Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said to an International Labour Organization meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, on June 5, "Our union was born out of protest. Using the traditional methods of workers' struggle — demonstrations and strikes — it contributed in a definitive way to launching a profound transformation of the social and political life of the country. There is no area which has remained unaffected by this process of renewal.

"Even though we are aware this is only the beginning of these changes, no one in Poland has any doubt as to the fact that there is no way back to the previous methods of ruling the country and governing its economy."

Solidarity, he said, "has become the greatest, the largest social organization in the history of my country. Its members... are joined by one common striving... life in civic freedom, in freedom of thought and speech, in human dignity, and national sovereignty..."

The Polish upsurge focussed through Solidarity is so profound that the chief instrument of the privileged Polish state bureaucracy, the Communist Party of Poland, at its recent congress was compelled to respond by making major political, social and economic concessions. One million of Solidarity's members hold cross-membership in the CP. For the first time, a Stalinist party in state power was compelled to hold direct and secret elections of delegates and a secret ballot in the elections for membership in its highest bodies — which resulted in the election of a Solidarity leader to its political bureau.

Caught between the demands of the Soviet bureaucracy, which appears to have pulled back from its threat of armed invasion, but which continues to smear the Polish movement as "counter-revolutionary", and the struggle directed against it and undermining its base, the Polish CP bureaucracy is being compelled to follow a policy of concessions and collaboration with Solidarity as the only possible alternative.

With the publication of this program and the discussion it is stimulating throughout Poland, Solidarity is preparing the masses there to face the challenges ahead — above all by moving in the direction of the establishment of a genuine workers democracy controlling and developing the nationalized property relations that prevail in the strategic industrial sectors of the economy.

As a document of the Polish workers' struggle it clarifies such questions as the role of religion, the Catholic Church, and of Polish nationalism. It clearly defines as the primary cause and the sharp exacerbation of the current economic crisis, not only bureaucratic privilege and inefficiency, but above all the barring of working class innovation and initiative from the economic decision making processes in society. Its demand for workers control and self-management defines the Polish struggle as being fundamentally for socialist democracy.

Canadian readers, besides examining the authentic views of the Polish working class movement on the problems confronting them and their solutions, can gain from the Solidarity program a heightened insight into the challenges looming before them in their own struggle for socialist democracy.

Solidarity unfurls the banner

Workers control is the way out of crisis

3. The main problems of social policy

The danger exists that the living conditions of the population will worsen in 1981. Above all, the foreign trade situation is likely to deteriorate further. It is not certain that our country will obtain the $10-11 billion in additional credits that we need this year, of which $6-7 billion is needed for repayment of loans, $3-4 billion for payment of interest on loans, and $1 billion to cover the current deficit.

If this credit is not raised, then production can fall considerably, having an immediate impact on consumption levels. The possibilities for increasing consumption by altering the distribution of the nation income—that is, by reducing investment in favor of consumption—are extremely limited, since no further restrictions can be imposed on investment in such important nonproductive areas as housing, health care, and education.

There is a threat of a complete disorganization of the consumer market. The financial income of the population grew in 1981 in relation to 1980, but the supply of manufactured goods is unsatisfactory. In addition, 1981 may not be a good year for agriculture, since it has not yet been possible to restock the herds that were depleted in 1980. In practical terms, then, the total annual increase in the income of the population will find no corresponding increase in goods available for purchase.

A. The state's legal responsibility for the costs of the crisis and of reform

The view of our union is that the responsibility for the effects of the crisis and for the reforms to be introduced rests with the state, regardless of whether the economic reform assures real autonomy for economic enterprises or what form that takes. This is because the state does, in practice, directly organize the economic life of Poland. The obligation to protect the population from the effects of the crisis therefore rests precisely with the state and its agencies, regardless of what activities the various unions and social organizations undertake. It is on this basis that the union will judge the state bodies.

The government has not presented a program for leading the country out of the crisis. The plan for 1981 recently adopted by the Sejm did not take up the crucial problems. The long promised stabilization plan still does not exist. Our union and the public in general have not even received a report on the state of the economy. This inaction is sure to cause the crisis to deepen. The government should immediately present a program to lead the country out of the crisis and submit this program for nationwide discussion.

Faced with the indifference of the authorities, our union is compelled to launch its own initiative. We do not aim to substitute for the government. We just want to indicate, in principle, the direction that economic and social policy should take—a direction which is of fundamental importance from the point of view of the working people and which at the same time will decisively affect many aspects of the country's economic situation.

Solidarity—understanding that the country's economy is in really desperate straits—will not advance major wage or social demands in 1981. But it does expect that:

- the basis for the government's economic policies—particularly in areas relating to the union's most immediate interests—will be established in consultation with the union,
- the government will commit itself to consistently carry out a reform program that will guarantee for the future a fairly rapid and balanced pace of economic development (we will present the general principles of this reform in the next section),
- and the economic policy of the government will in fact—and not just in words—respect the principle that the average level of real income of the population will be maintained and that priority will be given to those groups that are in the weakest economic position.

Workers want full discussion on rationing and pricing of goods

B. The principle of the free market

Seven months after the signing of the strike accords, the main complaint of working people is the disastrous and constantly worsening state of the market. Empty store shelves and commercial warehouses place a question mark over our wage gains. Lengthening shopping lines and the emergence of the black market disrupt family life.

In this situation, increasing the supply of commonly used items is indispensable and necessary. But a rapid improvement in the supply of all rationed items is not yet possible. In this situation, two proposals for immediate solutions should be considered and discussed. The first raises the possibility of broadening regulation of the market (through the ration cards). The second is categorically opposed to the introduction and maintenance of this system.

The first proposal recognizes the need for a healthy market, and in particular that to pay what farmers demand will change wholesale and retail prices. It views ration cards, however, as a necessary evil. In a situation of substantial shortages, money cannot be the only way to regulate the distribution of goods. Without the ration card, it will be hard to guarantee a minimum supply of basic goods, especially for those with low incomes.

The second proposal is against the extension of rationing to cover more items and ventures the possibility of a rapid elimination of existing regulation, since introduction of ration cards has resulted in hoarding in some households and shortages in others, and this undermines the role of wages as an inducement to good work. According to this proposal, a much better way of regulating the market than the use of ration cards is to employ the mechanism of prices, which in each case should be enacted with social approval.

Both proposals should be the subject of broad discussion within the union.

# of Socialist democracy

Warsaw, Oct. 24, 1956: Poles rally against the threat of Soviet intervention.

Representatives of independent union submit charter of new organization to Warsaw court.

Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler

Protest Rally and Benefit Concert

Sunday, October 19 8 pm.

Convocation Hall

University of Toronto, King's College Road, north of College St.

featuring: Pierre Berton as M.C.

Eleanor Pelrine — Author of Abortion in Canada and a forthcoming book on Dr. Henry Morgentaler

Florynce Kennedy — Well-known US feminist, lawyer and star of CBC's Some of My Best Friends are Men

Gillian Sandeman — MP from Peterborough (NDP)

entertainment by:

Stringband · Nancy White · Kathlen · Full Cruise

INITIATED BY CARAL (Canadian Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws),
31 Prince Arthur Ave., Toronto, Ont. Phone: 961-1507

FROM OUR GROWING LIST OF SPONSORS: Allan Grant (Professor, Osgoode Hall)*, Reuben Hesson (Professor, Osgoode Hall)*, Harry Arthurs (Dean, Osgoode Hall)*, Harry Glasbeek (Professor, Osgoode Hall)*, D.J. Baum (Professor, Osgoode Hall)*, Nigel Spraug (Lecturer, Osgoode Hall)*, Doris Anderson (Editor, Chatelaine)*, Jack Gazan, Peter Cole (M.D.), Jerry Green (M.D.), Maryon Kantaroff, Phyllis Currie (P.H.N.), Lyn Carleton, Selma Savage, Morton Shulman (M.D.), YWCA, Nellie's, Interval House, Can. Women's Educational Press, Laura Sky (Challenge for Change)*, Women Crown Employment Office, Socialist League, TCLSAC, B.C. Fed. of Labour, Kids Can Press, League for Socialist Action, Status of Women C'ttee. (Nfld), John Lang (editor This Magazine), Danny Drache (York U. professor), Peter Harcourt (film critic), Rick Salutin (playwright), John Sal (professor at Atkinson, York U.), Joyce Rock (York U. professor), Council of the York Student Federation, University of Toronto S.A.C.Women's Commission.

*affiliation mentioned for identification purposes only.

A Public Forum

The NDP & The Peace Movement

speakers:

John Foster,
chairman of the Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America

Terry Sargent,
M.P., Defence critic Federal NDP Caucus

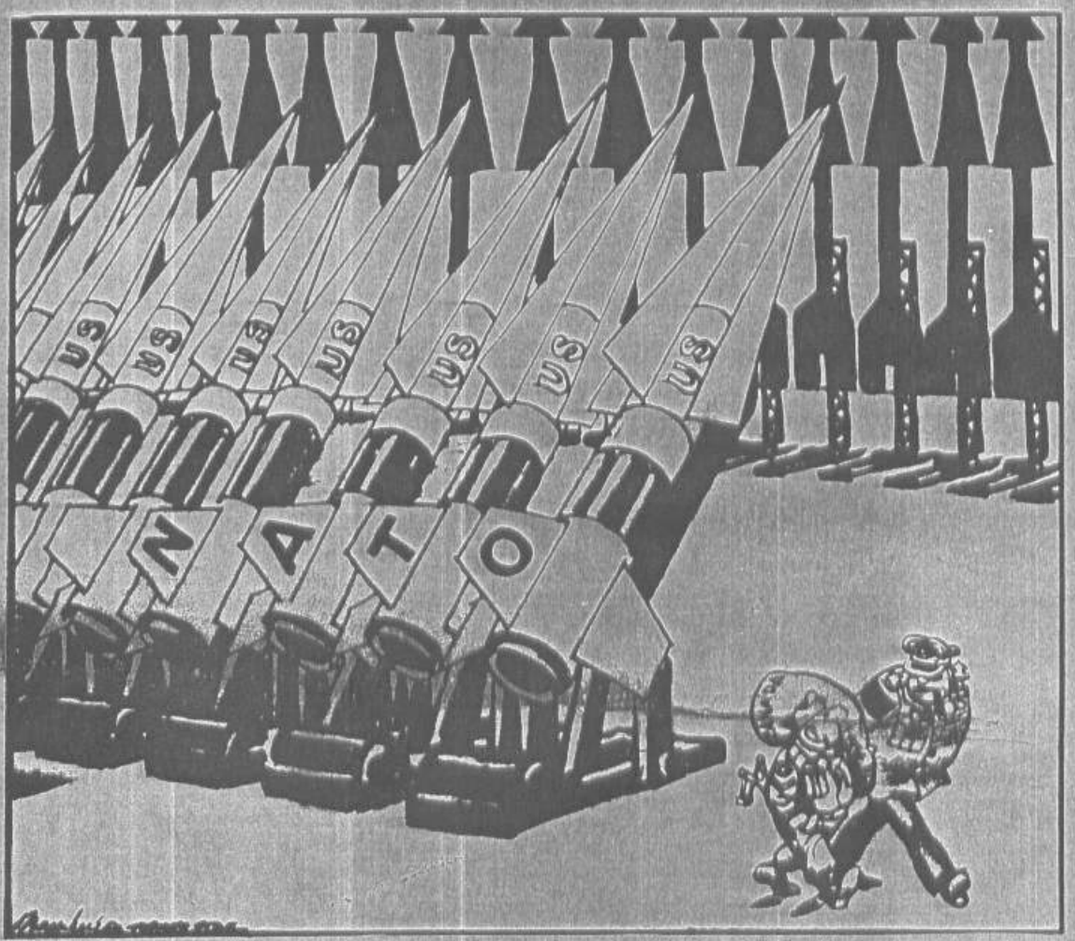
Ernie Regehr,
Project Ploughshares

chair:

Simon Rosenblum,
president Nickel Belt Federal NDP

sponsored by:

Spadina NDP,
Don Mills NDP,
Nickel Belt NDP,
Carleton East NDP



You realize of course, if the NDP pulls Canada out of NATO, it will upset the balance of power.

Friday, Jan. 15, 1982

8 p.m.

Mini Theatre

Student Union Bldg.-Jorgenson Hall

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute

There is still time

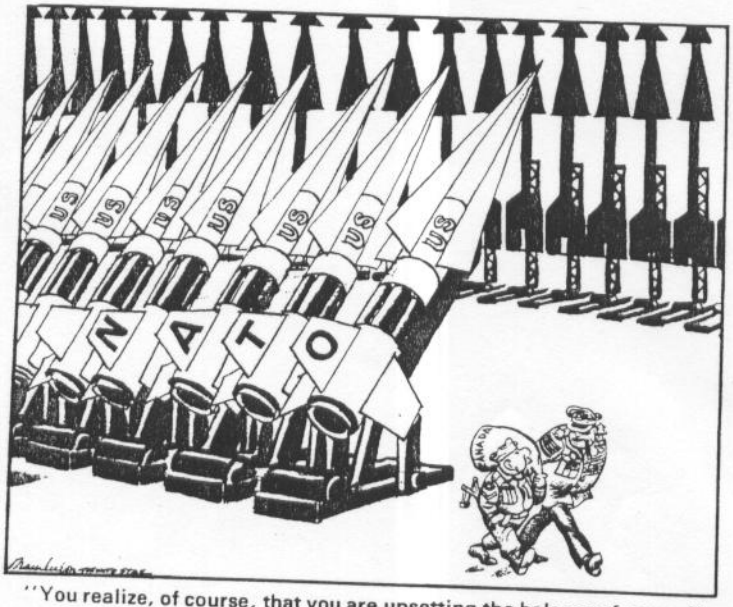
The fate of the U.S. Cruise Missile has now become a central issue confronting mankind.

If the U.S. State Department succeeds in installing it in the network of military emplacements sustained by those states committed to the NATO military alliance, the nuclear arms drive will have been tremendously accelerated. A quantitative leap in readiness to make war with nuclear weapons acceptable, and thus towards the actual destruction of humankind in a nuclear holocaust, will have been marked out.

This coming summer will witness millions in the Americas, across Europe, from Portugal through France and Germany, right into the East European states, mobilize to halt the accelerating deployment of nuclear armed missiles. Hundreds of thousands who have never before been involved in any kind of public social action will be demonstrating in the streets. What was minority opinion is becoming transformed into majority opinion.

Refuse the Cruise

The British Labour party conference responded last fall by voting, by over a two-thirds majority, in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament. In mapping its agenda for this coming year, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which now has more than 6 million affiliates through the trade unions, decided that its central actions will be organized with the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party in August 1983. They will mark the anniversary of the U.S. dropping the atom bomb on Hiroshima. The central slogan will be — **Britain Out of NATO — NATO Out of Britain.**



"You realize, of course, that you are upsetting the balance of power"

In this hellish scenario Trudeau has assumed the role of soft cop to Reagan-and-his entourage's hard cop. Ottawa is to serve as a symbol of unquestioning loyalty to the alliance, and all past, present and future commitments, no matter the peril. Providing the site for the testing and perfection of the Cruise Missile on Canadian soil is to serve as a concrete demonstration of this servility.

The growing concern and opposition to the nuclear arms drive among Canadians in every walk of life was revealed in the vote ranging over 70% to 80% polled during the last municipal election in major centres across the country. Since then a poll of the general population has registered 52% as being opposed to the testing of the Cruise Missile here. The NDP MPs, in their opposition to the Cruise tests, in a preliminary discussion before a select parliamentary committee, were joined by some dissidents from Liberal-Tory back benches. While proceeding to further enmesh the Canadian people in the nuclear arms drive, the government is now removing the issue from even this limited area of public debate.

Let the People decide

NDP MP Pauline Jewett has denounced the failure of the federal cabinet to publish an order-in-council, signed after its recent adjournment of the House of Commons, which instructed its ambassador in Washington to sign the framework of an agreement allowing the U.S. to test the missiles here. This flouting of the law was explained by External Affairs Minister MacEachen as due to a technicality. Jewett denounced it. "They don't want the public to know what's going on," she charged.

The people of Canada have a right to know — above all, everything about such matters as will determine whether they will live under increased threat of nuclear arms, or die in the launching of a nuclear war. They have the responsiblity; it is they who must decide. Yes there is still time! But time is running out!

Join in and build the protest against the testing of the Cruise Missile in Alberta.

Support and build the anti-war party — the NDP. Join in its efforts behind the demand—**NATO Out of Canada — Canada Out of NATO.**

NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE
c/o: Ontario NDP,
184 Main St., Toronto M4E 2W1

Gord Doctorow—493-6829
Laura Pascoe—924-4934

(Found in 1982)

THE NDP AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

By Cord Doctorow, Chairman, NDP Antiwar Committee

This coming summer will witness millions mobilizing in the Americas, across Europe, from Portugal through France and Germany, right into the East European states, to halt the accelerating deployment of nuclear armed missiles. Hundreds of thousands who have never been involved in any kind of public social action will be demonstrating in the streets. What was minority opinion is becoming majority opinion.

The British Labour Party conference responded to this sentiment last fall by voting, by over a two-thirds majority, in favor of British unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with more than 6 million affiliated through the trade unions, has decided that its central actions will be organized with the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party in August 1983. They will mark the anniversary of the U.S. dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The central slogan will be "Britain Out of NATO -- NATO Out of Britain."

The U.S. government intends to install Cruise Missiles in the network of military emplacements sustained by those states committed to the NATO military alliance. If it succeeds, the nuclear arms drive will gravely imperil the world's prospects for survival. For these installations will mark a large leap in acceptance of readiness to make nuclear war.

What is Canada's role? Prime Minister Trudeau hypocritically calls for "suffocating" the arms race while providing the site for the testing and perfection of the Cruise Missile on Canadian soil. His government justifies this on the basis of its commitment to NATO thus tightening Canada's integration into the U.S. military alliance.

The growing concern and opposition to the nuclear arms drive among Canadians in every walk of life was revealed in last fall's municipal referenda calling upon the Canadian government to pursue disarmament. The polls showed 70% to 80% in favor across the country. Since then, a poll of the general population has registered 52% as being opposed to the testing of the Cruise Missile here. NDP MPs, especially Pauline Jewett and Dan Heap, as well as party leaders Ed Broadbent and Bob Rae, have been outspoken in and out of parliament in their opposition to the Cruise testing.

Our party is the Canadian antiwar party by virtue of the fact

that it is based on the organizations and support of working people and society's dispossessed. Since the drive for profit at all costs is alien to us, we have no stake in supporting the arms drive. At the same time, our party has held a formal policy of opposition to NATO, NORAD and the Defence Production Sharing Agreements for some time. At the last federal convention, we adopted the principle of making Canada a nuclear-weapons-free zone along with re-affirming our previous policy. Our parliamentary spokespersons have often proclaimed the priority need to maintain social services and peacetime jobs.

Yet the public opinion polls indicate, despite the recession and popular antiwar sentiment, that only 21% to 22% of Canadians across the country would support the NDP in a federal election. Sixty-one percent do not identify with the party.

What has been lacking, and is vitally necessary, is for the party to actively mobilize around these policies among the growing number of antiwar Canadians. By doing so we can educate the Canadian people that their interests lie with the NDP and in opposition to the pro-military policies of the Tory and Liberal parties.

As a contribution to winning a new hearing for the party, the NDP Antiwar Committee was founded in Metro Toronto last August. Since that time, we have organized a disarmament float in the Labour Day parade, an antiwar forum of some 350 people during last October's Disarmament Week, and a contingent of NDPers to the October 30 anti-Cruise protest in Ottawa. We have circulated our policy statements to disarmament rallies and produced a button and banner proclaiming the NDP as the antiwar party. Many New Democrats, active in disarmament issues, have gladly worn these buttons and mobilized behind the party banner.

There is much more to be done and a great deal of promise for the party. But it requires a lot more organization and involvement at the riding level. The Antiwar Committee is striving to meet this challenge by hosting two important events. We will be providing an antiwar evening featuring music, guerilla theatre and a party afterwards on Sat. March 12 at the International Student Centre, University of Toronto. On April 8 and 9, we will be holding a metro-wide organizing conference for all ridings to hear prominent party spokespersons and to discuss how to get involved at the local level. Also, we have endorsed the March 5 International Women's Day demonstration, which has a disarmament theme, and the April 23 Day of Protest against the Cruise which will take place as a cross-country series of demonstrations.

We need lots of help from NDP members. As we continue to produce mailings, information kits, pamphlets, and buttons, our financial needs grow. Please consider sending financial contributions to the Committee. The NDP Antiwar Committee may be contacted c/o Ontario NDP, 184 Main St., Toronto M4E 2W1.

(Found in 1982)

DISARMAMENT
WHAT CAN YOU DO?

LET'S STOP FOOLING OURSELVES ABOUT SURVIVAL IN A NUCLEAR WAR!

- temperatures at the centre of the blast would be in the thousands of degrees
- up to 1 ½ miles out, 98% of the people would be killed outright.
- in the destruction, there would be little or no medical care for hundreds of thousands of severely burned people.

THE U.S.S.R. AND AMERICAN ECONOMIES ARE UNFAIRLY BURDENED WITH MASSIVE ARMAMENT COSTS!

- the arms race costs all of us money and jobs. Every billion invested in other economic sectors produces 47% *more* jobs than every billion invested in the defence industry.
- $17 billion would provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world. The armaments industries spend this amount every two weeks.
- the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. are bankrupting the world economy to support the proliferation of nuclear devices.

WHAT CAN CANADIANS DO?

- support the N.D.P. call for a world-wide referendum on disarmament.
- stop the export of CANDU reactors to oppressive regimes, ie. Argentina.
- stop the testing and manufacture of the cruise missile in Canada.

An N.D.P. government would restrict all nuclear weapons and support systems from Canada and work towards the establishment of nuclear free zones.

Join the New Democratic Party and oppose Russian and American deployment of nuclear weapons. Call our membership secretary at 759-5040.

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 8 No. 1 [47] ISSN 0700-9038 Jan. - Feb. 1982 Toronto 25 cents

CLC backs UAW in fight posing shorter work week

by P. Kent

As we head into the New Year the U.S. auto barons, after squeezing tens of millions of dollars in handouts from the public treasury and tossing thousands of workers in their U.S. and in their Canadian branch plant operations into the ranks of the unemployed, have launched a new assault against the dwindling number of autoworkers still on the production lines, and those hoping to get recalled.

Now a cabal of strategists for Ford, GM, Chrysler and American Motors are together trying to hammer their employees into accepting not only a freeze but a hand-back—into abjectly surrendering pay and fringe benefits that they themselves had previously agreed to in the process of last contract negotiations. Having forced in an opening wedge at Chrysler, strenuously resisted by the Canadian UAW leadership, they have now succeeded in getting the supine compliance of the Executive Board of the United Autoworkers Union.

By a vote of 25 to 1 this "leadership" has agreed to approve of the Ford and GM councils' opening up their contracts before expiration in order to hand over concessions from their already hard-pressed members. The sole opposition vote was cast by Canadian UAW Director Robert White.

White sharply dissociated himself from the UAW leadership, warning that there are going to be more layoffs, shutdowns and fewer jobs, regardless; that this action will only see union members being played off against one another in a demoralizing low-ball contest for scarce jobs. He scored the international leadership for giving the corporations a signal for attack. "The workers don't need a union to lead them in a march backwards," he said. In the name of the Canadian UAW Council he declared that there will be no bending of principles in Canada because we "are not prepared to put in practice a policy that says the workers who are scared enough to make big concessions will get the jobs that are left."

The executive council of the Canadian Labour Congress has underwritten White's dissent and called upon all affiliates to not submit to such blackmail but to hold the line against concessions that would pare back existing wages or benefits.

But the heat is on—not just on the auto workers but on workers right across the country. In this brutal attempt to put the cost of the breakdown of their much vaunted "free enterprise" capitalist system onto the backs of their employees the Auto bosses have been joined by Ottawa. If Finance Minister MacEachen has been equivocal about other measures in his anti-inflation policies there is one proposal upon which he is standing firm and behind which he has been organizing his provincial counterparts. Just before Christmas he called together the provincial finance ministers in Toronto to firm up resistance to any and all wage increases for government employees.

Andy Stewart, president of the 180,000-member Public Service Alliance, with half of the collective agreements covering its members in the federal sector expiring this year, has responded. "We'll totally disregard it," he said. John Fryer, president of the 230,000-member National Union of Provincial Government Employees has vowed major confrontations will occur if the provinces try to hold wages down. We won't accept any kind of wage controls, informal or otherwise, he said.

These strong words were reflected in the angry mood of the 1,500 delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labour convention last month, fuelled by high interest rates, escalating inflation, and widening unemployment and plant closures. But this mood has to be sustained; and the continued deepening of the economic crisis has embedded in it the possibilities for the bosses to weaken it and dissipate it.

To cut back the possibilities of

continued on page 2

Polish resistance defies martial law

by Harry Kopyto

With full reports only now beginning to come out of Poland, it is clear that the military dictatorship of General Wojciech Jaruzelski has not yet succeeded in re-stabilizing the state institutions and that the massive campaign of passive resistance being waged by the workers can flare up without notice in open defiance of the new rulers. In fact, the regime currently faces infinitely greater problems without any permanent solutions apparent.

A favorable element in the Polish drama has been the resistance of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, under arrest since the takeover, to attempts by the regime to split him from more radical members of Solidarity. His insistance that any negotiations with him include the rest of the 18-member Solidarity presidium and various advisors has meant that a key aim of the takeover has not been realized.

Hated military police confront Polish steelworkers

Jaruzelski clearly believed that the sudden imposition of military rule, suspension of democratic rights, illegalization of Solidarity, arrest of its leading cadres (reports that 50,000 or more arrests have taken place persist notwithstanding official figures suggesting only 5,000), suspension of all means of communication, and enforcement of draconian penalties for resistance would provide the sharp respressive blows needed to paralyze Solidarity and freeze the unfolding anti-Stalinist struggles. Notwithstanding the murder of scores of workers and imposition of a reign of terror on millions, the resistance appears to be absorbing the lessons of the setback and is undoubtedly preparing for future battles on a more conscious and mature level of political understanding.

This suggests that the task of restoring the political legitimacy of bureaucratic rule may prove to be insurmountable. On the eve of the military takeover, the bureaucracy was disintegrating and the legitimacy of POUP—Poland's Communist Party—was at an abysmally low point. It was precisely the inability of POUP to draw any significant concessions from Solidarity which impelled the military to attempt to freeze the situation by pushing the remains of the party aside and by attempting to divide the moderate elements in Solidarity from its militant wing.

The collapse of the POUP, except for its bureaucratic-military wing, has limited the regime's room to maneuver and exposed the role of the state more clearly to those who may have harbored illusions concerning the moderate wing of the POUP. Though attempting to portray itself as an instrument of national reconciliation standing above the petty political fray, the fundamental policy of Jaruzelski has been systematic repression and eradication of active political opposition from Solidarity. His promise of a role for trade unions at a future time (though not for Solidarity), his arrest of discredited POUP leaders and incorporation of Solidarity's demands for a 42-hour work week and three work-free Saturdays monthly are designed to divide Solidarity's leaders and confuse some workers while implementing his repressive measures.

On the eve of martial law, Solidarity had matured from a trade union fighting for economic demands to a representative body of virtually the entire Polish working class. It became the prime means for the expression of all the political social and economic interests of the working class. In alliance with fraternal organizations which it inspired among farmers, students and intellectuals, Solidarity was vying with the regime for control of the communications media, for access to a variety of state resources and for a full democratization of elections to key administra-

continued on page 5

Canadians back Solidarity in cross-country protests

Mass protests in support of Solidarity were organized across Canada within hours of the news of the clampdown of martial law on Poland. The Canadian Polish Congress organized a large demonstration that Sunday afternoon in front of the Polish Consulate in Toronto. It was joined by delegates to the Ontario NDP Provincial Council meeting, (among them provincial leader Mike Cassidy), who earlier had passed a strong emergency resolution in support of the embattled Solidarity movement. Also among the demonstrators were supporters of the

→p2

Zygmunt Przetakiewicz

nearly 300 sailors left on the ships issued a statement: "We protest against the disregard of the national will...the imposition of martial law is a clear example of the use of terror against a whole nation...We are terribly worried about the fate of our families and we are absolutely on the side of Solidarity. Poland has not yet perished while we live."

By the end of the week the Canadian Labour Congress announced the opening of a Solidarity office in Toronto staffed by Zygmunt Przetakiewicz. Przetakiewicz, a former press officer of Solidarity in Poland, left there on August 1 to establish its offices in New York. The new Toronto office, set up in the OFL headquarters on Gervais Drive, Don Mills, is one of several springing up across the globe to distribute information about Solidarity as news is smuggled out, to help rally support and participate in raising funds to send food, clothing, medical supplies, etc.

Crisis grows as profits soar

Nationalize banks to create housing

by John Bacher

The dramatic action taken by the Canadian Labour Congress in organizing the massive demonstration on Parliament Hill against exorbitant interest rates and the wide, popular response points to a new militancy on the "second front" of labor struggles, as the gains from hard-won victories in collective agreements are eroded by ever-increasing waves of big business rapacity. As Canadian Autoworker director Bob White has pointed out, workers faced with a renewal of mortgages need a wage increase of two dollars an hour just to keep pace with payments. NDP leader Ed Broadbent noted in a similar vein that some 360,000 Canadians are unemployed in the construction and building materials supply industries as a result of the federal government's high interest rate policy.

Such bleak statistics can only give a pale image of the impact of escalating interest rates. Numerous cases of individual hardships reveal a degree of cruelty which bloodless figures cannot furnish. Even Paul Cosgrove, the minister "responsible" for government housing "policy," admitted to a protest meeting held against high interest rates that: "One woman who was obviously expecting stood up and said her husband had lost his job and pretty soon she would have to stop working. They had put a down payment on a home and felt they were going to lose everything. When you see something as tough as that, you know you're dealing with a pretty sensitive, traumatic problem." Despite Cosgrove's crocodile tears, one victim of interest increases told the minister: "You people don't give a damn. You're in bed with the corporations and you're in bed with the banks. It come down to an incestuous, unholy alliance."

This was indeed a perceptive observation considering the booming profits of financial institutions, the historic financiers of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, and haven and recruiting ground for their Cabinet ministers. While homeowners are in agony, many lenders are in ecstasy, as witnessed by an annual jump in profits of some 39.5% for the Toronto-Dominion Bank, 36.4% for the Bank of Mont-

continued on page 5

forward F47
Editor: Wayne Roberts

p.2

Polish Workers Solidarity Committee.

The PWSC, with branches in Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catharines, and two in Montreal had just completed its first national gathering on Saturday December 12 in St. Catharines. A core of the delegates passing through Toronto circulated a statement in the name of the PWSC pledging themselves to carry out militant protest actions and calling on all trade unionists and unions and all supporters of democratic rights to protest against this repression.

Within the week there were protest demonstrations in all major centers from coast to coast. A Toronto and Ottawa rally, jointly organized by the Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Polish Congress featured CLC President Dennis McDermott as a speaker. A Vancouver demonstration of about 1,000 rallied on the pier where Polish ships that fish off Alaska were docked. The

Zygmunt Przetakiewicz

nearly 300 sailors left on the ships issued a statement: "We protest against the disregard of the national will...the imposition of martial law is a clear example of the use of terror against a whole nation...We are terribly worried about the fate of our families and we are absolutely on the side of Solidarity. Poland has not yet perished while we live."

By the end of the week the Canadian Labour Congress announced the opening of a Solidarity office in Toronto staffed by Zygmunt Przetakiewicz. Przetakiewicz, a former press officer of Solidarity in Poland, left there on August 1 to establish its offices in New York. The new Toronto office, set up in the OFL headquarters on Gervais Drive, Don Mills, is one of several springing up across the globe to distribute information about Solidarity as news is smuggled out, to help rally support and participate in raising funds to send food, clothing, medical supplies, etc.

NDP backs Solidarity

The following resolution wa. adopted unanimously by the delegates assembled at the ONDP provincial council on December 12 as word came through of the imposition of military rule on the people of Poland.

"The Provincial Council of the Ontario NDP condemns in the most severe terms possible the harsh repression by the Polish Communist Party against the Polish people and their free trade union federation **Solidarity**. We in the Ontario NDP wish to convey our strong support for the efforts of the working people of Poland in their struggle for political and economic democracy."

The following resolution was adopted by the September 17 meeting of the executive of York Centre NDP, and subsequently adopted by the executive of the Parkdale ONDP.

"Whereas workers' control and international solidarity are among the aims of **Solidarity** in Poland and the NDP, and whereas the concept of workers' self-management, class solidarity, and free trade unions are the aspirations of a true socialist democracy and whereas both **Solidarity** and the NDP struggle for the rights of workers to have a say in the press and other media

"Be it resolved that the executive of the York Centre ONDP state its unconditional support of the struggle of the Polish working class to achieve socialist democracy through workers' self-management, and further be it resolved that the executive of York Centre ONDP state its congratulations to the First Congress of Solidarity and enthusiastically endorse its decisions, namely: 1) the referendum of workers' democracy, 2) the appeal of **Solidarity** to other workers in the other so-called socialist states, 3) the equal access for all to the public media.

Forward special issue won enthusiastic response

The decision of **Forward**'s editors to publish the complete text of the draft program of Solidarity was warmly received. The document had been prepared for circulation and discussion amongst the 10 million members of Poland's independent trade union movement and the working people of all Poland for the first national congress which was actually underway as this English version was coming off the press in Toronto.

It took up the entirety of 7 of the 8 pages of our September issue, compelling us to dump planned material on the consitutional debate, important discussions within the NDP, information on the ongoing struggle in Latin America, etc. Having taken that radical decision we decided to go all the way for what we consider to be the most significant event in recent times—the opening up in Poland of the struggle for socialist renewal—the politcal revolution in the post-capitalist states of Eastern Europe and the USSR. We loosened the screws on our treasury so we could give the go-ahead to the printer to run off 11,000 copies and geared our slim forces to get it out as rapidly as possible.

All our subscribers with whom we have better contact were pleased with our decision and the work we did to present a weighty document in an inviting way with photographs and subheads that emphasized key concepts of this struggle for workers' control and socialist democracy. Several persons who had earlier promised contributions to our fund drive were alerted into acting, as were others who had been procrastinating over renewing their subscriptions.

Best of all was the reception that our distributors received. We did extensive door to door distributions in a Toronto area where Polish-Canadians are heavily concentrated. Many of the older generation, having fallen prey to reactionary ideas, are no doubt re-thinking, and many of the new generation want to know what the Polish workers want—from their own words. Our distributors were often asked for extra copies for friends.

Then we covered a whole series of events: the Toronto film festival which has become an event of some international attention featured the showing of Wajda's film **Man of Iron** in a highly publicised gala affair at one of the city's largest theatres; the assembly of cross-Southern Ontario student militants in U of T's Convocation Hall following their massive demonstration against educational cutbacks; the audiences who assembled over the week-long seminars on cultural freedom, under the auspices of Amnesty International; and those who attended the first simultaneous three-theatre commercial showing of **Man of Iron**. While we distributed **Forward** free, so nothing would stand in the way of people getting it, scores gave us one, two and even a few five dollar bills and often expressed surprise and pleasure at receiving the programmatic statement of Solidarity. We have only a handful of copies left here at Box 778, Adelaide Street Post Office, Toronto M5C 2K1.

Make the Jump!

SUBSCRIBE! **forward**
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

Name _____
Address _____

10 ISSUE SUBSCRIPTION
$5.00

forward #47 Jan 1982

Call for independent & socialist Quebec

by John Darling

Signalling the deep social and political upheaval developing in Quebec and exacerbated by Ottawa's unilateral imposing of a new constitution, is the appearance of a group of prominent intellectuals and ex-labor leaders grouped in the Committee of One Hundred. They have published a revolutionary document which has met with immediate, enthusiastic response, entitled the "Manifesto of the Movement for a Socialist and Independent Quebec and for Equality between Men and Women."

It calls for "the fundamental transformation of Quebec in the direction of the interests and aspirations of the working and popular classes and upon the inseparable concepts of socialism, independence, democracy and of equality between men and women."

The eloquent **Manifesto** goes directly to the root cause of the unemployment, poverty and inequalities plaguing Quebec today: its society is capitalist, dependent, "falsely democratic" and in deep crisis. The aims of the Quiet Revolution have not been realized; we have not won our equality, or independence. None of the existing political parties in Quebec have addressed themselves to the central problem.

The **Manifesto** states that the capitalist class's control of finance, natural resources, factories and machinery, transport, commerce and the media is possible due to the labor of the immense majority—"The heart of exploitation under capitalism is found in the private appropriation of the value created by labor."

To be Québécois is also to suffer the national oppression that the big Canadian bourgeiosie imposes through its federal state apparatus, the **Manifesto** says. It seeks to impose its language, its culture and its development policies at the expense of Quebec. With a small group of Quebec capitalists grabbing "a share of the federal cake," and some middle and small businesses encouraged by the Parti Québécois filling in marginal areas left abandoned by big Canadian and American enterprises, the Quebec economy has become unbalanced and grossly distorted, with the tragic results described.

The PQ government comes under attack by the authors of the **Manifesto** as a "capitalist government which has taken on measures which have intensified the rate of exploitation." Its "solution," according to Finance Minister Parizeau, has meant lower real wages, public staff reductions, cutbacks in medical and social services and higher utility costs, at the same time as businesses get tax cuts and more state subsidies.

The second section of the **Manifesto** describes how Quebec society must be fundamentally transformed: "We must collectively appropriate the means of production and exchange and democratize property." The state must be transformed so that the working and popular classes have control over the parliamentary system, administration and justice, it states. The authors emphasize "socialization" of society rather than "nationalization" because "men and women workers must have real control over their work and the way in which it is organized. Likewise, it is the people themselves, in the view of the **Manifesto**, who will achieve this "difficult, long-term political task," requiring the building of a popular power-base—it cannot be the task of an avant-garde, the authors state.

Only a socialist Quebec will be able to abolish unemployment, eliminate poverty, and since independence and socialism are indissociable, "the creation of a new fully independent Quebec State..." which the **Manifesto** continues, "...is an indispensable condition not only for overturning the domination of the capitalist class and establishing the true sovereignty of the people, but also to put an end to national oppression." In this, the **Manifesto** states, we demark ourselves from the PQ policy of a sovereignty-association which does not challenge the capitalist system. "We seek an end to Quebec's ties with U.S. imperialism and its military alliances. We want to establish our solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world. At home, we want to establish new relations with ethnic minorities and put and end to the oppression of the Native peoples, recognizing their right to self-determination," its authors add.

The **Manifesto** then turns to the task of movement which must be constructed...not an electoral party, but a movement rooted in the daily life of working people." They see the movement as "a place for regroupment of all those who wish to act concretely and who do not belong to any other political organization...decentralized, under the control of its members." The organizers plan to hold a founding convention within a year, and until then will function with provisional statutes under a directing committee of eleven founding members and a provisional National Council composed of delegates from regional committees.

Reaction from the Trotskyist **Combat Socialiste**, and the **In Struggle** group of Maoist origin was positive, if only because, as the latter put it, "an increasing number of socialists are looking for alternatives to the left of the PQ (and we) are engaged in a deep-going rethinking of socialism and how to get there. The Mouvement socialiste does offer an alternative..." While **In Struggle** chided them for neglecting to make pronouncement on whether "revolutionary violence will be necessary to win (and hold) power," they praised the Manifesto's revolutionary line.

Likewise **Combat Socialiste** welcomed their vigorous denunciation of capitalism, noting the raised eyebrows of **La Presse** and **Le Devoir** editorialists, and raising the important question of the Mouvement's limiting itself to individual memberships, when it could take in unions, popular groups or women's groups who share its orientation. They see the Manifesto as offering "a new framework for debate and action for all militants," who should participate.

Buoyed by the rapid dissemination of the first printing of 10,000 copies of the Manifesto, its chief spokesman, Marcel Pepin, past president of the Quebec-based union centrale, the CNTU, was reported in the press as saying the new Mouvement socialiste may find itself challenging the PQ in the next elections. With other founders like Raymond Laliberté and Yvon Charbonneau, ex-leaders of the teachers' union, and intellectuals like Jacques Dofny in the leadership, the Mouvement sees itself clearly demarked from the PQ as advocating a complete break with capitalism and a forthright approach to Quebec's independence—though with Trudeau's isolating Quebec on the issue of patriating the constitution with a "Charter of Rights," the ranks of the PQ have succeeded in pushing Lévesque to a harder line on independence.

One can only add that the continuing debate in the Quebec labor movement around the establishment of a Quebec labor party is once again given an urgency by the development of the Mouvement socialiste—where the real power and strength of the working and popular classes is already regrouping and waiting to enter the political arena. Hopefully the **Manifesto** will serve as the catalyst.

forward #47 Jan 1982

Constitution cooked up in Ottawa backroom kitchen

by Mark Josephs

While the officially induced hoopla surrounding the patriation of Canada's constitution will now be postponed pending a British court ruling on Native rights, the citizens of Canada have so far appeared distinctly nonplussed by the impending transfer of some tattered and yellowed mildewed documents from London to Ottawa.

The absence of a surge of national pride may be attributed to a variety of factors including the dampening effect of unemployment and inflation. However, the way in which the Canadian government arrived at its new constitution undoubtedly ranks as the key reason for the widespread cynicism.

From the start, Trudeau rejected calls from church, Native, labor, political and professional bodies calling for a widespread discussion about Canada's future and the convening of a constituent assembly to permit all segments of our society to determine their own collective future. Instead, the constitution was cooked up in the atmosphere of a basement flea market with secret conferences in the hallways of the Château Laurier behind the back of Premier Lévesque in the middle of the night. The final document bore the signs of political chicanery so blatantly that members from all political parties dissented on the vote approving the patriation package.

The unilateral and unpopular constitution-making process was engineered by the Liberals largely in response to promises given during the Quebec referendum campaign around the issue of sovereignty-association. In fact, the final result not only invalidates Quebec's law designed to protect the French language but eliminates Quebec's traditional veto power against constitutional changes reducing its historic rights.

The highly-touted Charter of Rights, which was heralded as the most progressive legislative enactment in the western world, emerged in final form as a document so full of ambiguities and qualifications that even the Prime Minister expressed dissatisfaction with it. The Charter contains not one but two "notwithstanding clauses" which permit both the federal and provincial governments as well as the courts to override the fundamental political and legal rights allegedly guaranteed by the Charter. Even Manitoba Tory leader Sterling Lyon, a neanderthal when it comes to human rights, supported the constitutional package saying that "people can put whatever euphemism on it that they wish. And if it makes someone down there have jollies to talk about an entrenched charter, they can have all the jollies they wish. I know the clause permits the government of Manitoba to override it."

The constitutional package marks a major step backwards for working people across Canada and not only the Québécois. By requiring Senate concurrence for future constitutional amendments, this undemocratic, politically appointed body has been institutionalized for the foreseeable future. Provinces can opt out of any and all future amendments to the Charter of Rights. Native land claims are thrown into a state of confusion. The Charter protects Ontario Premier Davis' continued denial of equal rights to Franco-Ontarians.

More significantly, the Charter omits mention of all the fundamental rights that millions of Canadians have fought to achieve over the decades. In particular, there is no mention of the right to strike, the right to free collective bargaining and the right to a job.

It is now plain that Trudeau could not have sold his package had he not had the political support of NDP leader Ed Broadbent and the majority of the parliamentary caucus. Virtually stripped of any representation from Western Canada, NDP support was crucial to Trudeau's machinations and manipulations around the constitutional issue. Though even Broadbent was forced at one point to disassociate himself from Trudeau's denial of aboriginal and women's rights, he backed Trudeau at the end, publicly repudiating fundamental principles of the NDP, reinforcing the impression that the NDP was an appendage of the Liberals, provoking a public split in the federal caucus and throughout the party and undermining the party's prospects in the west and in Quebec.

The NDP was in a unique situation to take advantage of the splended opportunity of leading all Canadians in the struggle for a genuinely democratic constitution. **Forward** has repeatedly argued and warned that the NDP should be calling for a Made-in-Canada constitution through the selection of a popular constituent assembly representative of all regions and groups in the country instead of supporting Trudeau's made-in-Britain constitution. Despite these warnings, the NDP leadership chose the cozy warmth of the Liberal government's lap, abandoning all those left outside this comfortable relationship—the Québécois, Native peoples and women, among others.

Ironically, such maneuvering, designed to neutralize concern over the NDP's radicalism, in order to widen its support among more conservative voters, seems not to have had its intended effect. The current lack of popularity of the federal party, attested to by, among other signs, the lowest Gallup Poll rating in several years, seems to have resulted from the increased blurring of the NDP's image as a distinct political entity resulting from the party's hearty endorsement of Trudeau's constitution.

forward #47 Jan 1982

Canada fronts for US war machine

by Gord Doctorow

Canada's neutralist and human-rights-champion image experienced an unexpected black eye last month when our United Nations ambassador voted against budgeting funds for a special investigation of human rights violations in countries like Chile and Argentina. It was such a blatantly pro-U.S. move that the Liberal government had to backtrack with excuses of misunderstandings about the intent of the vote. Apologetics notwithstanding, this event is but another in a long line of actions of complicity with U.S. imperialist policy.

In Guatemala, Canada maintains a discreet silence while a military government murders leaders of opposition political parties, Indian peasants who are fighting for land, and trade union leaders who must operate clandestinely. Just recently, Canadian External Affairs patiently waited for weeks for an explanation of the Guatemalan security forces' murder of a Canadian lay missionary. Only after considerable pressure from church organizations did the government, not with indignation but with public suggestions that the victim's death was deserved, request a "police blotter" report. But then Ottawa expects that it will be called upon to give the stamp of approval to future "free" elections which will exclude any left or liberal forces to provide a civilian cover for the Guatemalan junta.

Canada is already playing this dirty role vis-a-vis El Salvador. Although a parliamentary subcommittee composed of representatives of all parties in the House of Commons has unanimously opposed the U.S. plan for elections on the grounds that the left would be necessarily excluded because they would be imperilled if they chose to run, External Affairs Minister MacGuigan, even after meeting with opposition leaders from El Salvador stubbornly clings to the Reagan line. The Salvadorean freedom fighters would be in grave danger if Canada were to play out its act as honest broker between them and the regime.

In the post-World War II period, as Canada became integrated into the U.S. economic system through branch-plant setups in such key industrial sectors as auto production and energy and mineral extraction, Canada's foreign policy began to experience a parallel shift that was more becoming a satellitic dependency of the booming American metropolis. Thus Canada, under successive Liberal and Conservative governments became de facto a part of the U.S. sphere of influence as the American military and economic juggernaut displaced declining British and European colonialism as the undisputed leader of world capitalism and crusader against socialism.

Canada became integrated into the American war machine through the Defense Production Sharing Agreements and through NATO and NORAD. So well understood is Canada's fealty that the Canadian government didn't blink when a loaded American war cruiser sailed into Vancouver a few months ago during the United Nations' declared International Disarmament Week.

Canadian complicity with the brutal U.S. war machine became the subject of widespread criticism during the Vietnam War. The antiwar movement had successfully exposed Canada's role as spy, diplomatic cover, and American arms supplier while serving on the supposedly neutral International Control Commission that was to oversee a just settlement of the war. Even chemical and biological weaponry were developed in Canada and universities were providing research for various U.S. projects. When Prime Minister Trudeau was challenged by then NDP leader T.C. Douglas, the PM bluntly defended Canada's partisan role.

Once again Canada is acting as the "neutral" cover for strategic capitalist interests through Trudeau's role in the North-South "global negotiations."

The concept of global negotiations was tabled at the UN general assembly as a form of dialogue between the wealthy nations and the poor to ameliorate the plight of the poor nations vis-à-vis energy financing, trade, technical aid, etc. As this forum with its increasingly united Third World bloc proved uncomfortable for the key player for the wealthy, the Reagan administration pressed to suspend the talks and hold them through invited conferences. Canada played a most obliging role in helping to legitimize North-South conferences in which the U.S. was able to concede nothing. This year's Paris conference of the 31 poorest nations saw the Reagan forces emphatically reject any increase in the U.S.'s paltry 0.3% of GNP aid although Canada managed to pass a meaningless resolution which ambiguously appeared to commit the wealthy to significantly more aid thus rescuing the U.S. from embarrassing isolation.

At the Couchiching conference this last summer, Reagan's spokesmen made it clear that they were in principle opposed to equalizing international wealth basing themselves on neo-Darwinist concepts of survival of the economically fittest. But this took place close to the time of the Ottawa summit of the seven leading industrial nations, chaired by our Prime Minister, who man-

→P.2

from Canadian Transport

aged to produce a communique which through weasel words trumpeted that the dialogue was getting better. When confronted with the hard-line free-enterprise U.S. position at Cancun at which the U.S. successfully blocked Cuba's participation (although Cuba is the current leader of the non-aligned movement), Trudeau wrung out a last-minute platitudinous resolution which was a compromise statement almost identical to the one of the Ottawa summit. Otherwise, there would have been no progress to record. A truly loyal subject, Trudeau saved the American state's face.

Historically a dependency of a great power and economically a junior partner to the U.S. corporations, Canada appears on the world arena as something between an advanced capitalist country and a semi-colony. This may account for some of Canada's good will among Third World countries. Furthermore, Canada has trade and aid connections with countries like Haiti, Guatamela, and the Philippines. Essentially, the aid serves to secure contracts for Canadian-based corporations so that Canadian trade with these countries has experienced profitable and steady growth at their expense.

One of the most lucrative areas of export is in that of military components for tanks, planes, guns, etc. The federal government through the Export Development Corporation and the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce subsidizes corporations like Valcartier Industries Inc., Levy Auto Parts, and Pratt & Whitney. Although they produce material which finds its way to the oppressors' military hands in South Africa, El Salvador, Chile, Indonesia, Brazil, Iran, Iraq, Guatemala, and many other countries on boycott lists with records of gross repression, the companies get away with it because they ship the material as civilian equipment, which doesn't require an export permit.

As an agency of North American imperialism, Canada can never serve the interests of the oppressed peoples of the Third World. Only a socialist, independent Canada could do that.

DECLARATION TO THE POLISH WORKERS

On April 6, 1982, in Moscow, agents of the Soviet bureaucracy carried out rather widespread raids in "dissident" circles. In all, 50 searches were carried out and 12 persons arrested. No well-known personalities were among those arrested.

In their apartments, considerable literature was found. This included issues of the samizdat magazine Socialism and the Future, an appeal to the Italian Communist Party made in the name of this magazine, documents on Poland, the replies of the editors of Variants to questions posed by the French magazine l'Alternative, issues of the magazine Left Turn, the Appeal to Polish Workers below.

The Declaration is taken from the Bulletin "News from the USSR," edited by Kronid Lyubarski, Munich, June-July 1982.

Dear Polish comrades, friends, brothers, and sisters,

Today when your country is passing through a difficult period, we send you this statement expressing our admiration and our solidarity. There is very little that we can do to help you; we can only place our hopes and our confidence in you.

Today, after a year and a half of revolution, the gains of the Polish working class, recognized by the Gdansk agreements and consolidated by the consistent struggle of the workers, are threatened.

The experience of history teaches us that when reaction suffers a defeat, it is quick to resort to military force. The terrible threat of military dictatorship hangs over Poland.

We are with you, friends!

All of us are with you in the public squares of Warsaw and Gdansk, in the factories in Katowice and Lodz, and in the prisons where the KOR socialists and leaders of Solidarnosc are languishing.

We are there, where for the first time in history a people has dealt a severe blow to a totalitarian regime, to a puppet regime. We believe that the workers can counter the force of bayonets and tanks with the power of their organization and their unity.

What happened in Hungary and in Chile must not be repeated in Poland.

We believe in the Polish working class, in its capacity to defend its gains. Today you are in the vanguard of the world workers movement, in the first ranks of those fighting for a democratic socialism. A defeat for Solidarnosc would be a catastrophe for the progressive forces of the entire world.

We socialists, Social Democrats, and honest people in Russia join with the millions of people who hope for your victory.

We repeat the prophetic words of Herzen: There are no longer frontiers between Russia and Poland. But Europe knows what Poland represents. It is a nation abandoned by all to a fight against impossible odds, which has since shed rivers of blood on every battlefield where peoples have fought for their freedom.

Everyone knows this people.

Poland can be destroyed but it cannot be forced to accept subjection.

- Long live the heroic Polish workers!
- Long live Solidarnosc!
- Long live democratic socialism!
- For your freedom and ours!

SOVIET DISSIDENTS
December 14 1981

JUNE 14 1982 © ABIE WEISFELD

War of words: An elderly member of a group supporting Israel's invasion of Lebanon points a finger at a member of a group supporting the Palestinians. The Rally Behind Israel group demonstrated at Nathan Phillips Square yesterday afternoon with guest speakers and entertainment. The pro-Palestinian demonstrators handed out leaflets stating: Not all Jews are Zionists. **Story, page A5**

JACK CUSANO/TORONTO STAR

Summer/82 Dave T control - misdirected by HK (note by R.D.) ed.

Ted Joliffe, leader of the CCF during the 1945 Ontario electino, has been exonerated by the NDP leadership for his attack on George Drew's secret "Gestapo." The evidence compiled by David Lewis and Gerry Caplan shows that the charges Jolliffe ▣ leveled against the Tories ten days prior to the 1945 election were correct and that Drew and other top Tories lied during the election campaign and to the Royal Commission ~~t~~hey set up. There was a secret section of the O.P.P. specifically for preparing attacks on the CCF, ~~i~~with direct links to Drew.

For almost forty years the CCF and the NDP have lie~~v~~d in the shadow of the trauma that Ted Jolliffe and the electoral defeat in 1945 created. The opportunistic political wisdom has been that to attack the RCMP means electoral suicide, that the NDP should back off challenging the RCMP for fear of being red-baited. This is reflected in Jolliffe's political judg~~e~~ment still being questioned. As Caplan notes, "the vicioous irresponsibility of Jolliffe's speech, as many must have judged it, might have reinforced the monstrous image of the CCF that had so successfully been created by the anti-

socialist propagandists over the previosu two years, and so frightened to the polls tens of thousands of cautious, sober Ontario citizens."

Yet surely the lesson of the Gestapo affair is that the NDP must confront the repressive forces of the government or be undermined by playing the game which allows the NDP to exist only as long as it's safe. A labor party, regardless of its program, can never be safe for capitalism an must deal with all atacks on it, including M RCMP spying and disrupting. It's time the federal caucus of the MDP fought for every opportunity to expose and limit RCMP illegalities.

Defuse nuclear war threat
Out of NATO and NORAD!

Trudeau cruising for peace

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 6, No. 2 (48) ISBN 0700-9038 Summer 1982 Toronto 25 cents

(#48) Summer 1982

For low-cost publicly-owned subsidized, rental housing

by John Bacher

The current housing crisis provides a typical but painful example of human needs crying out for relief, while only obtaining a response that increases suffering and cripples the means to alleviate it. Interest rates, foreclosures, evictions, housing demolitions, luxury conversions, unemployment figures, shelter costs and overcrowding problems increasingly soar, as housing conditions deteriorate, building slumps, public housing aid shrinks and rental controls diminish. As the tempo of such a litany of woes daily increases one might be tempted to assume that the Canadian economy is governed by some principle of madness; until one shares Hamlet's insight that there is indeed "method" in it, that of accumulating bloated, bank profits, lucrative land speculations and a complex web of corporate and government intrigues that serve to place an even greater concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few.

Along with their habit of prospering while fellow humans are increasingly impoverished, Canadian financial magnates do have the capacity to exhibit astonishing frankness. B.V. Gestrin, vice-president of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce was quoted in the **Globe and Mail** February 18, 1982 **Report on Business** section that energy investment is expected to amount to $350 to $400 billion dolars in the next decade, so that "housing may find itself in the role of residual borrower". Gestrin went on to expound upon a vision of disappearing five-year mortgages, one-year mortgage norms "with a trend to even shorter terms" as "mortgage lenders... develop new products to respond to the changing environment." With some zeal, Gestrin predicted that "The situation now is what will pass for normal in the years ahead — mortgage money will be hard to come by, terms increasingly short and mortgage interest rates can be expected to stay four to six percentage points above the rate of interest." Likewise R.C. Frazie, president of the Royal Bank of Canada, has enthused that "large scale energy exports are a necessary adjunct to Canada's ambitious energy program", noting the opportunity to "invest trillions of dollars to bring on energy supplies". The Royal has predicted that this will be possible, "if, as most forecasters now expect, housing, government and consumer spending decline in housing construction from its 1975 level of 4.5 of the GNP to 3.1 percent in 1985."

Since the pursuit of profit by big business is equated with the national interest, the "logic" behind cruel and pitiless government "fiscal" and "housing" policies becomes apparent. As NDP MP Margaret Mitchell pointed out the federal government housing budget dropped $392 million in 1981 from $1.8 billion in 1976. Similar savage cuts have been made by reactionary provincial governments such as Socred B.C. which has neither a public housing program nor any plan of assistance for non-profit and co-operative housing, although a crown corporation is assisting a condominium complex in which units are offered at a minimum of $200,000 per unit. Premier Bennett has labelled such conditions as: a third of provincial households paying more than thirty percent of their income for rent, the average

continued on page 7

U.S. corporation flim flams FIRA in Brantford takeover

by John G
Brantfo
lessnessa
Park Tori
TIC Inve
powerful
based in T
of White
adian op
create th
acceptanc
ations, Tl
hourly an
March 26.
that even
Leader a
MPP Rob
charge th
as pawns
game."

The roo
1980 whe
ationswer

bit of
U.S.
p the
it to
Can-
reg-
block
isure
owed
ielph
pera-
irties
al by
ncial

man-
d as
tive"
and
any
iite's
t its

by John Giffin

Brantford — With corporate ruthlessness and the assistance of Queen's Park Tories and Ottawa's Liberals, TIC Investments Corporation, a powerful U.S. holding company based in Texas, took over full control of White Farm Equipment's Canadian operation in Brantford. To create the necessary anxiety for acceptance of their business machinations, TIC forced the lay-off of 740 hourly and 185 salaried workers on March 26. The game was so obvious that even the former Ontario Liberal

Peoples of the world demand action now!

by Harry Kopyto

A powerful wave of anti-war sentiment is sweeping the planet, bringing hundreds of thousands of marchers into the streets of the world's capitals in protest against the continued escalation of the arms race and the fearsome threat of nuclear annihilation.

The key element behind the growth of anti-war activity has been the bellicose policies of the U.S. government headed by President Ronald Reagan — in particular, its decision to proceed with a quantative leap in the nuclear arming of the NATO forces in Europe, recent policy statements of the U.S. government indicating that it is now thinking in terms of the practicability of a "limited nuclear war", which supposedly could be contained in Europe, and the continued escalation of American involvement in Latin America, especially U.S. support for the fascist regime in El Salvador.

While the anti-war sentiment has largely been directed against the unprecedented arms build-up started in 1978 by the U.S. government, certain actions of the Soviet Union, such as its military intervention in Afghanistan and the threat of one in Poland, have also clearly contributed to the growth of mass pacifist feeling within the United States.

Capitalism contains war like a cloud contains rain. The war drive not only helps establish military hegemony throughout the world to make foreign markets safe for capitalist investments but it also has been used to prop up ailing capitalist economies. For the post-capitalist states such as the Soviet Union, keeping up with U.S. war spending has drained their treasuries, denied consumer products to their populations and distorted their social priorities.

There is no question that the anti-war sentiment is unprecedented in scope in recent times. Not only has the movement developed semi-spontaneously in the capitalist world but it has also swept into Eastern Europe giving rise to anti-war demonstrations in such countries as Romania and East Germany. In the capitalist countries, it has drawn into its ranks such unlikely anti-war advocates as Admiral Hyman Rickover (the father of the U.S. nuclear navy) as well as major church organizations and large numbers of scientists, academics and politicians who have come to understand that nuclear war means destruction to all. In fact, significant voices of the American establishment itself have joined the movement.

The sudden growth of the anti-war movement in the last few months stems from developments in Europe in response to the decision of the United States to place almost 600 Cruise and Pershing missiles in Britain, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy. For European anti-war activists, the spectre of the neutron bomb and the Cruise missile has made real the fear that western Europe would be the theatre for nuclear war.

Most people in Canada, according to public surveys, believe nuclear war is inevitable. An important element of the American establishment has clearly lost confidence in the ability of President Reagan to avoid a nuclear war. The dynamics of both Soviet and U.S. policies on developing capacities to destroy each other's offensive military targets, raises the possibility of a pre-emptive nuclear strike.

There is no question that the anti-war movement objectively weakens the ability of the United States and its capitalist allies to implement militaristic policies. However, the movement lacks a clear focus on concrete proposals for peace — particularly in North America.

This can be seen in Canada as well where establishment figures like Walter Gordon (former minister of finance), Roland Michener (ex-governor-general), Paul Martin (ex-

continued on page 2

The war that nobody thought could happen

by P. Kent

The war over the Falklands-Malvinas, a war that no one thought would ever happen — neither Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the British General Staff — nor President and General Galtieri and the Argentine Junta — is now coming to a close. But the crisis continues and may end up destroying the leading protagonists on both sides. Already one, Galtieri, is down, with more to go.

The Argentine junta has been facing deepening difficulties. Inflation is running at 140% and unemployment is in the region of 40%. Along with the arrival of spring came the largest protests since the armed forces seized power in 1976. To the persistent every Thursday procession in front of the presidential palace by the mothers of the "desiparecideos" (disappeared) are being added a mounting number of protests. Demonstrations have been breaking out across the country against the capitalists' attempts to impose continuing austerity measures on the workers, and thousands have been arrested, including the leadership of the Perionist trade union movement. The junta sought a diversion from this rising threat of revolution.

When a group of scrap merchants raised the Argentine flag on South Georgia Island, to widespread popular acclaim, the junta further whipped up the outburst of national chauvinism and sent an army of conscript and untrained youth to occupy and finally to restore the Malvinas to Argentina.

The question of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas has been an increasingly pressing but fruitless matter of negotiations between the rulers of Britain and Argentina since the UN passed a resolution in 1960, and another in 1965 by a vote of 94-0 that the de-colonization of the islands be negotiated. And then again in 1973, by a vote of 116-0 ex-

continued on page 5

Inside this issue

Socialist history p.3
El Salvador p.7
RCMP suit p.3

forward #48
EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

U.S. corporation flim flams FIRA in Brantford

P-2

Leader and Brant-Oxford-Norfolk MPP Robert Nixon, was forced to charge that "the workers were used as pawns in an international takeover game."

The roots of the crisis go back to 1980 when White's Canadian operations were bankrupt because the U.S. bosses squeezed every possible bit of profit out of it to bolster their U.S. operations. When TIC bought up the U.S. operations, Ottawa allowed it to pick up only 49% of White's Canadian operation. Under its FIRA regulations, allegedly designed to block U.S. corporate takeovers and assure Canadian benefit, Ottawa allowed Linamar Machine Limited of Guelph to obtain the other 51% of the operations. In order to keep both parties happy Ottawa finalized the deal by shelling out $15 million in provincial and federal government loans.

Of course, TIC continued to maneuver for full control. Described as "an aggressive and secretive" American company by the **Globe and Mail**, TIC refused to agree to any third party funding to allow White's Canadian operation to convert its

continued on page 3

continued from page 1

inventories and accounts receivable into cash to meet operating costs and payroll. TIC responded more favorably when Ottawa's Economic Development Board offered a $20 million grant related to control of managerial and board of director appointments. But now it demanded that Linamar sell its 51% controlling interest to them. This was brought home with a vengeance when the Brantford operation was shut down completely and all the workers tossed onto the street.

Everyone was thunder-struck by TIC's callous methods, especially when White's did not go bankrupt, showing assets of $62 million and liabilities of $32 million. Appearing just as shocked was White's president Andrew Zaleski who said that the company "remains strong and unchanged." "Obviously you don't have a takeover attempt over a dead corpse."

The Tories at Queen's Park quickly went along with TIC. Assisted by Phil Gillies, MPP for Brantford, Minister of Industry and Trade Gordon Walker concurred with TIC's takeover bid because supposedly the question was "jobs or no jobs, plain and simple." Even though Walker had to admit that White workers were "being treated as pawns in the process", he justified the takover methods: "We do not consider foreigners as second class citizens."

After a few days' delay, for the sake of appearances, FIRA allowed TIC's takeover bid and worked out certain understandings whereby TIC doesn't have to live up to the earlier 1980 agreements, and can cut back staff as market conditions warrant. Even the **Brantford Expositor** had to admit in an editorial: "How strong and lasting they (TIC commitments to FIRA) are, remains to be seen... It is not an auspicious introduction to TIC of Texas."

No sooner was the deal finalized when TIC fired White's president, Zaleski. Apparently Zaleski had tried to buy the Canadian operation in 1980 and was viewed by the new owners as a potential obstacle to their future plans. Brantford MPP Gillies referred to it as simply "an internal matter."

Beside the cowardice of Queen's Park Tories and Ottawa's Liberals, some of the blame for TIC success must be laid at the door of the local labor leadership. From the beginning Dan O'Regan, president of the Brantford Labor Council and an employee of the plant, pooh-poohed the seriousness of the lay-offs: "This is a very short lay-off. I don't think it is any big deal."

Ray Robbins of the UAW local admitted the workers were angry: "It's a hell of a thing to play around with guys' lives." But throughout the ordeal, he stood cap-in-hand and back in rear of the politicians, showing no leadership. When NDP MP Derek Blackburn suggested early in the crisis, that the government help White's employees buy out Linamar's 51%, it met with no enthusiasm from Robbins: "I don't know if it would be realistic... it sounds interesting." And that's where the matter ended.

Fearing militancy and accusations of irresponsibility, Blackburn and the labor brass sought out positions in line — to the rear of Liberal MPP Nixon. While Nixon demagogically attacked the Tories, his suggestion of putting White's under receivership was designed to find some flag-waving loyal Canadian business group to take over; however, the only Canadian company previously interested, Linamar of Guelph was busy all this time making a deal with TIC. It sold out its shares to TIC for $4.5 million which included a quick tidy profit of $1.5 million.

Before the TIC-Linamar deal went to FIRA for their imprimatur, both Blackburn and Nixon were critical of the takeover. Blackburn stated "I find it unbelievable that a foreign company will be allowed to take over ...a viable Canadian company." Nixon opposed TIC methods which "could apply pressure to... both levels of government."

Once FIRA approved the deal, Nixon lined up with the Ontario Tories and Ottawa too. Next, Blackburn went along with the FIRA-TIC agreements. "I can't see how TIC could move out of Brantford," he said and called the accords good.

Just why should these new 1982 agreements with TIC turn out differently from the 1980 ones? After TIC milks the White Canadian operation, they can still pull out with the apparently extremely valuable technology and patents such as the axial-flow rotary combine which it now owns and controls. As far as the Brantford operations are concerned, they are old and becoming increasingly obsolete, which TIC would gladly turn over in payment for the $15 million loan it got from Ottawa and Toronto. According to Blackburn, "the Brantford plant is . . . in bad need of modernization. I wonder if they might relocate down the road."

Thus a golden opportunity to win support and organize for government ownership and workers control of a viable operation was not taken seriously and dropped. This was not surprising as many local labor leaders and spokespersons such as Blackburn and O'Regan have been shameless opponents of a general policy for public ownership that is being advocated in labor and NDP circles.

forward #48 Summer 1982

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts
FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from *FORWARD* may be reprinted without fee as long as *FORWARD* is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to: Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5C 2K1.

Meaning of NDP defeat

by Gord Doctorow

NDP national leader Ed Broadbent and ousted NDP Saskchatchewan Premier Allan Blakeney are to be congratulated for successfully pursuing their goal to make the NDP appear almost indistinguishable from the Liberals and Conservatives. David Lewis' move in the early 50s to shed the CCF (and subsequently the NDP) of its radical Regina Manifesto image, with its proclaimed goals of eradicating capitalism and winning power for working people, in order to present the party as an instrument of liberal-reformism, achieved its ultimate expression in the administration of the Saskatchewan NDP. One defeated cabinet minister bluntly admitted that the campaign had revealed that the party was widely seen as "Liberal Party West" as he tried to explain the reason for the April 26 defeat of the Saskatchewan NDP government.

This image of the party had been assiduously cultivated and reinforced by its leadership for some time. After all, hadn't Premier Blakeney and former Premier Shreyer of Manitoba supported Trudeau's wage controls regime in their own provinces in 1976, thus abetting the defeat of the trade unions' resistance to the Liberal government's anti-labor offensive? Didn't Schreyer, with accolades from the NDP brass across the country, accept as the highlight of his career the position of the monarch's representative and mouth-piece for the Liberal government in his role as Governor-General? Who would have known that the party was opposed to NATO when Mr. Broadbent had publicly declared his support, and by implication the party's support, for the imperialist war alliance during the previous federal election campaign?

But the chickens came home to roost in Saskatchewan. After 31 (out of 38) years of CCF-NDP government, with Blakeney at its head for 11 unbroken years, the party dropped from 48% of the popular vote with 44 seats to 38% with eight miserable seats. Meanwhile the Tories pulled up their previous 38% vote (17 seats to 54% — clearly capturing disaffected Liberal and NDP voters — giving the Tories a 56-seat government under the leadership of a man who had been twice defeated in his bid to win a seat in previous elections. Moreover, the last time the Tories had formed the government in Saskatchewan was in 1934.

The Saskatchewan NDP had been hitherto upheld as a model for NDPers everywhere. Blakeney was regarded as a statesman whose reputation transcended party lines. Never once did the Tories attack him — only the party. The Saskatchewan government came into the election with a balanced budget, proving it had all the skills to mind the store. It was here that medicare had been born, that government auto insurance and advanced welfare schemes were piloted, and that a mixed economy philosophy had been "pragmatically" blended with government takeover of the potash mines to provide resource revenues to support the social programs. Mind you, this was a business-like government which ran the crown corporations as businesses and on the eve of the election legislated striking non-medical hospital workers and other designated essential workers back to work.

Not surprisingly CUPE workers dubbed the party "No Damn Principles, NDP" and hounded the NDP leader throughout the campaign. They even urged support of independent Native movement candidates who ran against the party — not without justification, National CUPE President Grace Hartman, a longstanding NDPer, justified this attitude and denounced Blakeney's cynical adaptation to the most backward anti-labor prejudices at the expense of the trade union movement.

This was reflected in the drop of the party vote by 14 percentage points in the cities where young workers are concentrated. It also lost eight points in the rural areas despite its initial one-issue campaign for a mandate on the basis of defending the Crow's Nest Pass rate, which subsidizes agricultural freight at very low rates. Everyone knew this was really a federal issue which left out their concerns about inflation and unemployment. Besides, the other parties also upheld the Crow. The Tories took advantage of the political vacuum, with promises to retain the crown corporations and the social programs and also to reduce gasoline taxes, provide low interest mortgage rates and so on. Their one billion dollars of promises were met with an estimated $135 million from the NDP which tried to one-up the Tories with universal denticare schemes and homeowner assistance in what appeared to be an orgy of reform bidding. Against the NDP's slogan of "Tried and Trusted" came the Tories' retort of "Tired and Rusted".

Allan Blakeney **sits dumbfounded on the day after the defeat of his Saskatchewan NDP government.**

The voters thought the NDP was removed and complacent. Women's rights supporters and Native people resented the party's maneuvers in trading off rights during the constitutional swap.

Post-election explanations by party leaders blamed the defeat on a general anti-government feeling that is sweeping the western world. However, they failed to explain how this squares with the Tory re-election victory in Newfoundland, a province suffering from profound economic misery. They also ignored the comfortable landslide of the Ontario Tories with a leader who has been premier for a year longer than Blakeney. More significantly, they didn't mention the defeat of the Ontario NDP, which suffered a similar defection of traditional NDP supporters to the Saskatchewan party's, due to its record of sacrificing principles in an attempt to win the elusive middle-class vote.

John Skoberg, **former MLA Moose Jaw North, the sole NDP MLA to vote against strikebreaking legislation.**

Broadbent insightfully pronounced that although it was a regrettable defeat, "the people of Saskatchewan made their democratic decision." Blakeney denied the defeat had anything to do with ideology while admitting his government had lost touch with the people. The more left-leaning federal caucus member Simon de Jong (Regina East), on the other hand, concluded that the party would have to decide whether it is going to remain true to its social democratic roots, for the defeat cannot be said to be merely conjunctural.

This election debacle must serve as a warning to everyone who has fought to build this party and to place it in power. The course plotted by the present leadership leads only to defeat and destruction. It is necessary to redirect the party to the left.

Stand firm as the voice and the mobilizer of the working people in resistance to every attempt to impose the crisis of the capitalist system onto the backs of the working people.

Give leadership to the struggle behind the program that will win jobs for all, that will eliminate race and sex discrimination, and will remove the danger of nuclear destruction. For a socialist Canada where production is planned, not for the profit of a few but for human use as a part of a socialist world.

→p.2

'Rebuild party totally'

The debacle suffered by the Saskatchewan NDP in the provincial election is provoking a profoundly critical discussion within the party. The third page of the May 5, 1982 issue of the **Commonwealth**, organ of the Saskatchewan party, frankly notes that the election marked a conscious defection from the NDP by the people. Voter turnout was a record 85% and ballot counts revealed that previous NDP voters had switched to the Conservatives. It also remarked that party workers were calling for a purge in the NDP upper echelons and talking about "the need to rebuild the party organization totally".

The editorial describes the feeling of the electorate as a protest vote—"whether over daycare, or anti-strike legislation, or the cost of car insurance, or maybe just the way the government seemed a little too arrogant and complacent," costing the party "17 of the otherwise untouchable ridings."

"The NDP's constituency had dwindled to the hardcore", the editorial states, "which would never vote otherwise. Over the past 10 years others had slipped or been driven away — from the environmentalists who helped win in 1971, but who had been beaten back at party conventions ever since, to labour, which finally waffled and collapsed in frustration with a government that relied once too often on its support without delivering the goods."

More pointed conclusions are made in an article written by Lloyd Robertson, a former party organizer and Director of Membership and Finance.

He notes that the Blakeney government, as "perceived by the press, and therefore the public" made "cynical strategic moves using issues and people as its pieces" in the election game.

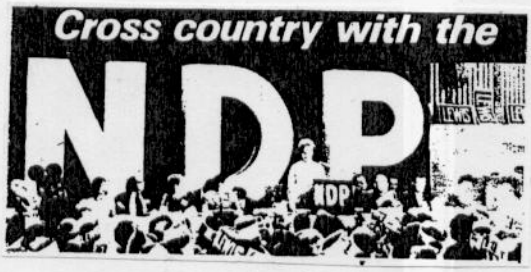
"The Crow," he states, "was portrayed as an attempt to ride back into power on the train of anti-fed bashing. The back-to-work legislation affecting CUPE and anyone striking during the election campaign was seen, at best, as a temper tantrum thrown by people who did not want interference in the timing of their election and, at worst, as a cynical appeal to anti-union rural sentiment."

Robertson attributes the voters' switch to a Conservative government as a failure "to educate the public on the issue of public investment. Short term greed has out-polled long term need... We have failed to educate people about socialism... Finally, we have failed to maintain the wholehearted support of our natural constituencies — labour, minorities, teachers, small and medium farmers and the poor.

"We relied too much on slick election machinery and too little on building a **class conscious movement** (our emphasis — Ed.). At some point the machine ran down and the movement just wasn't there to carry us through."

He concludes that rejuvenating the party "will involve commitment, discipline, and a willingness to put our case before a skeptical public. It will involve rebuilding a socialist movement that will carry us to success in good times as well as in bad."

forward #48 Summer 1982



Leader's industrial strategy fails to meet the challenge

by Frank Grey

The centrepiece of NDP leader Ed Broadbent's program to solve the economic crisis is the negotiation of production agreements with U.S.-owned corporations. These production agreements would be based on the idea that if these corporations want profits selling in Canada, they will have to provide jobs as well. U.S.-owned corporations not willing to "bargain in good faith" will face emergency surcharges on prices. There will be subsidies and tax measures to reward those that negotiate agreements and to penalize those that don't.

Other components of the program will include: "organizing the full capacity of government to support our exporters" by using Canadian capital pools to underwrite exporters' risks; a $1 billion tax cut for low and middle income Canadians that reflects a belief in demand-side as opposed to supply-side economics; new social housing production largely financed by taxing banks at 1971 levels; and finally, a made-in-Canada interest rate that would set the bank rate at 1% above the rate of inflation.

This old "New Employment Program" nowhere poses public ownership of the corporations and banks. Their drive for superprofits has created such a dependent and unbalanced country that it is possible even today to say that Canada lacks a rounded economy. Yet only public ownership with workers' control of all the crucial sectors of the economy will lay the basis for an economy where the benefits of its advanced industrialization go to the working class. Production agreements, where foreign corporations sign them, will only deepen the exploitation of the working class. What subsidies and tax measures will reward these corporations? Guaranteed rates of profit higher than if production was in the Philippines or Brazil? Wage controls? Reductions in trade union rights? In Canada, for the NDP to "mind the store with production agreements" the working class would have to be sold into slavery, with an NDP government being the overseers, and profits from super-exploitation still leaving the country.

To propose taxing the banks at 1971 levels without expropriating them fails to recognize the most elementary facts of real power in Canada today. The banks operate within the framework of government policy only as long as that policy is theirs also. As the Bank of Montreal put it about a year ago, they are no longer a Canadian bank, but an international bank located in Canada. More than half of bank profits now come from non-Canadian operations. The banks have the power to take on and defeat any government policy which appears to attack them short of taking them over. Exchange controls without publicly owned banks would meet the same fate as any attempt to tax banks more.

If there is an overriding flaw in Broadbent's plan it is a failure to understand the causes of the economic crisis. The Broadbent leadership recognize the domination of the Canadian economy by U.S. capital, "the deficit in manufacturing balance of trade, lost taxes, lost R&D expenditures, a dependence on imports and a weak dollar" (and therefore high interest rates). They understand that these corporations export money out of Canada "through inflated internal charges that result from buying within the firm." They don't understand that the economic crisis Canada's working class faces now is not simply the extra unemployment and lower living standards from an economy dominated by U.S. capital, (which policies short of public ownership will never change), not simply a recession which takes "political will" and Keynesian economics to turn around, but a profound world-wide crisis of capitalism that only war or socialism will solve.

The factors which led to an economic upsurge and an enormous expansion of international capitalism after World War II have been dissipated. Productive facilities have been rebuilt and the U.S. has declined in its hegemonic position. The U.S. now creates and exports world-wide inflation, not expansion. Overproduction means increasing unemployment everywhere. Governments can no longer afford the welfare state, much less cut working class taxes, as Broadbent proposes. What is required is a fundamental shift in power to the working class, not just a "fair share of jobs," which has been Broadbent's battle cry as the economic crisis deepens, as even the capitalist press and economists call the crisis a depression, as "official" unemployment statistics go over 10%.

This can only be accomplished through a program which gives the working class control and ownership of the means of production. It has never been more important for the NDP to adopt a socialist economic program.

Lynn McDonald [right] at Broadview-Greenwood nomination rally which saw her decisively defeat establishment candidate Gerald Caplan [centre].

forward #48 Summer 1982

Cdn Solidarity cttees work out problems

The first conference of the 27 Canadian Solidarnosc Support Committees was held in the Ontario Federation of Labor building in Toronto recently. Representatives from unions, student organizations, universities, churches and Polish and other Eastern European groups attended. They came all the way from Charlottetown, PEI, to Vancouver, BC, according to a report in issue No. 2 of the **Information Bulletin** published by Solidarity Information office in Canada.

A wide-ranging discussion took place over two days, reflecting the concerns of the diverse forces who have come together to form this broad united front in support of the Solidarity movement, now suffering since December 13 under the military dictatorship imposed upon the Polish people by the Jaruzelski regime.

As one would expect, the recent mass demonstrations held in all the major cities in the country reflected in their banners and leaflets the diverse views of the supporting forces. They have ranged all the way from expressions of support for workers' self-management of Poland's factories to identification with U.S. President Reagan's statements supportive of the Polish workers' struggles while he was actually smashing the strike of the U.S. air traffic controllers and outlawing their union.

Some demonstrations tended not to have as their central focus the slogans and demands which are the actual basis of the united front — identification with and solidarity with Solidarnosc — the freeing of all internees, restoration of **Solidarnosc**'s rights, the lifting of the military regime and the restoration of democracy. The conference agreed that future actions would achieve that central focus which alone can deepen the support of the organized labor movement and widen it throughout the Canadian people to bring effective pressure on the Polish regime.

The delegates also agreed that the committees they represent would make every effort to hold demonstrations or actions of some type in support of Solidarity on the 13th of every month. Plans are underway for marathon runs from various cities converging on Ottawa on August 31 — the second anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk agreements. On that day of demonstrations, in Ottawa, a pan-Canadian delegation representing labor, the Polish community, the support committees, and other interested groups will demand, through the Polish ambassador, the end of "the state of war", the release of all detainees and negotiations between Solidarity and the government on the basis of the Gdansk accords.

The same issue of the **Information Bulletin** reproduces the full statement of the views of Jacek Kuron recently smuggled out of the Bialoleka internment camp. Kuron was the founder of the Committee for the Defence of Workers (KOR) and more recently a leading advisor of the National Commission of Solidarity. He was one of the initiators of a hunger strike by the internees involving at one time as many as 16 Solidarity officials.

In a footnote to the Kuron contribution the editors promise that their next issue will contain a reply by Zbigniew Bujak and Wiktor Kulerski, which appeared in the underground weekly **Tygodnik Mazowsze**, on the course of the political revolution unfolding in Poland.

Subscribe and be sure to get **Forward**

10 ISSUE SUBSCRIPTION
$5.00

Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

Name _____

Address _____

IN DEPTH

An open letter from Solidarity to the left

In the following article, an editor of the clandestine Warsaw publication Kos *speaks frankly about the mutual mistrust between the Solidarity movement and the Western left. Dawid Warszawski, a pseudonym, urges both sides to drop their respective preconceptions and to begin an East-West dialogue of cooperation on common interests. If this challenge goes unheeded, Warszawski warns, both sides face catastrophe. Although he addresses the European parliamentary left by name, his arguments bear hearing in the U.S. as well.*

KOS is the Polish acronym for "Social Resistance Committees," a network of small, conspiratorially organized cells formed to provide an efficient internal communication system for the resistance movement.

Warszawski's article first appeared in KOS's publication Kos *("blackbird" in Polish) earlier this summer. It was reprinted in the Paris-based Solidarity weekly* Biuletyn Informacyjny *Sept. 22, 1982 under the title "The left and us."*

—Andrzej Tymowski

By Dawid Warszawski

ASKED ABOUT HIS POLITICS, the Soviet dissident and Gulag veteran of many years Vladimir Bukovsky replied: "I am not from the rightist camp nor from the leftist camp. I am from a concentration camp." This statement raised hackles in the West several years ago, but in the East—that is, on this side of the Elbe—it was immediately clear and comprehensible to every politically aware person.

The categories "right" and "left" only make sense as markers in a diversified field of political programs and social visions. When a particular political system prevents the formulation of such programs and visions, the essential political conflict cannot be reduced to the concepts "right" and "left." Instead it becomes a struggle to make a right or left possible.

Solidarity waged this struggle throughout its existence. Just before the imposition of the state of war, this effort catalyzed several diverse political initiatives. Nevertheless, Solidarity as a union remained neither right nor left. For Western observers, especially leftists, this notion is difficult to understand, much less to accept; for it has been the leftist experience that organizations professing such neutrality do so in bad faith in order to mask their true nature, most often right wing. This judgment seemed to be confirmed by Solidarity's battling in the name of, among others, national and religious ideals, against a political system wrapped in the conceptual slogans of socialism. What's more, whenever Solidarity activists could be persuaded to make an explicit statement on the subject they inevitably declared themselves to be anti-Soviet and, often, pro-American.

Nonetheless, Solidarity was undeniably a workers' movement; it went on strike and fought for the economic and political interest of the class that is by definition leftist. More than one political theorist broke teeth while chewing on this nut....

Internationally, Solidarity received wholehearted support from the rather reactionary AFL-CIO—which had uncritically accepted, for instance, U.S. policy in Vietnam—and from such figures as Duarte, the leader of the Salvadoran junta. On the principle "my enemy's friend is my enemy," this was more than enough to qualify Solidarity as right wing. And yet Solidarity fought for the same rights that the persecuted trade unions in Chile are fighting for. In the global perspective of a world in which reactionary forces clash with progressive forces, Solidarity refused to adopt a clearly defined position.

This caused some people to revise the way they made basic political judgments. For the majority, it is sad to say, it was only an irritating nuisance.

Someone reading this in Poland might well ask, "What should we care about any of this? We live in a country of pragmatic Marxists. We have seen Communism up close; other varieties of leftism are hearsay for us. Besides, the intellectual quandaries of safe and well-fed people are the least of our concerns."

Although I understand why someone might hold this attitude, I believe it wrong for at least two reasons. The first reason, though more immediately compelling, is less significant overall. It comes down to the fact that the bulk of aid sent to Poland from the West comes from a wide spectrum of left organizations, chiefly trade unions. There is a disturbing silence in Poland on this subject. The authorities do not publicize it because it is embarrassing ideologically. The rest of us do not ask where the aid comes from either, because the left has distasteful connotations for us and we do not want to feel indebted to it.

Nonetheless, it is crucial that the left's ideological and dogmatic preoccupations not reduce the flow of aid, which could easily happen if donors conclude from our indifference that Solidarity is not worth the effort. Clearly the same applies to the Committees for Solidarity that have arisen in foreign countries, since their activities depend in large measure on the support of various left organizations.

The second reason is more basic. Few activists on either side of the Iron Curtain realize this yet, but the destinies of Solidarity and the European left are inextricably woven. An enduring victory for WRON (the Polish acronym for the ruling Military Council of National Salvation) would politically bury the European left for many years, since the first consequence of that victory would be the utter disgrace of Communism as a political doctrine. This could be cause for rejoicing if it were not for the fact that the ensuing political debacle would sweep aside everything to the left of Franz Josef Strauss. The mass transmigration of voters to the right prompted by the maniacal specter of WRON as the highest stage of Communism would plow under its wake socialists, social democrats, Euro-Communists, and whoever else might still be alive on the left.

On the one hand, this scenario would hardly be to Poland's advantage. Only the left can be our true ally, because it is only for the left that Polish society, and the Polish working class in particular, exists as an autonomous subject. The right's true interlocutor is Moscow, not Poland, and we are useful only as a means of making life difficult for the Soviets. As Yalta has shown, a Poland subjugated by Moscow is of little interest to the right. Financial and industrial circles, the right's social base, have already begun to support Jaruzelski on their own initiative, hoping that he will be able to squeeze $28 billion out of us.

Solidarity's victory over the regime, on the other hand, would vindicate the power and endurance of the working class. It would revive hopes for international political cooperation of working people in Europe, which is our continent's last chance to re-establish autonomy vis-a-vis the global strategies of the super-powers. In the short run it would breathe some life into the theory and practice of a workers' movement smothered by Moscow's scholasticism, which has lately diverted itself either into a methodology of struggle for pink washrooms in factories or into a hothouse for maniacs.

What does this mean in practice? For us in Poland, sadly, it means very little. It would be good to translate the specific circumstances of life on the Vistula into language that the European left can understand, but that is a task for our activists abroad. We are left with little more than the realization that President Reagan is not necessarily the trustworthy ally he seems to be, and that Communists in the West are not *ipso facto* scoundrels or dupes.

For the left and their friends in the West, this means that they would do well to recognize the "to be or not to be" of the progressive movement taking place right here on the banks of the Vistula. These circles lately seem to have grown weary of Poland, choosing campaigns to aid the victims of the Turkish and Salvadoran juntas—who most certainly need help—as politically more attractive than support for a recalcitrant and ambiguous movement like Solidarity.

We in solidarity need the left's help to ward off the shroud of neglect and indifference that threatens our struggle. Today no one but the left remembers Chile, Eritrea and the Crimean Tatars.

The left, in turn, needs our victory to avoid its own disaster.

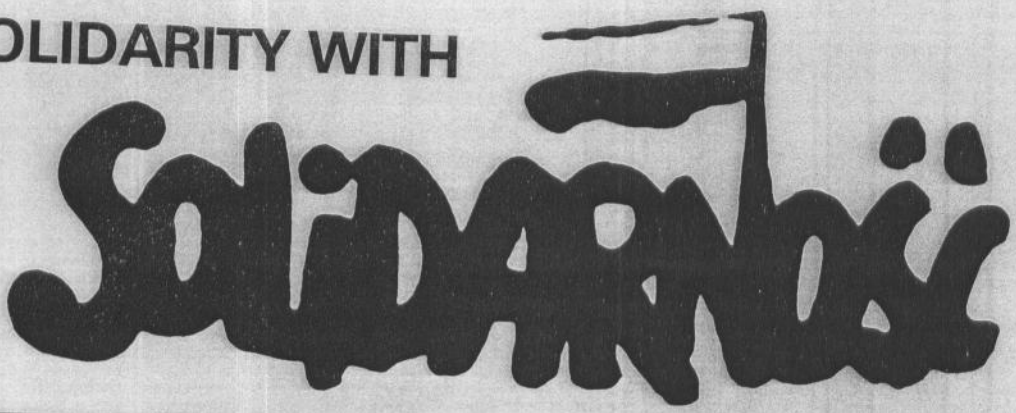
A postscript to those in Poland who do not like the left: This article is being written by someone sympathetic to the left who hopes to become a leftist in the future. By this I mean that I want to struggle in a free and democratic society, by using political means, against conceptions of society such as those proclaimed, for instance, by the (ultra-nationalist) Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). However, in order to make this possible, today I plan to cooperate even with the KPN in a common struggle against a totalitarian, alien occupation regime. In today's Poland the notions of right and left are empty; our struggle aims to create the conditions for them one day to have meaning. For all of us in this struggle, the European left is our ally. ■

—Translated by Andrzej Tymowski

Andrew Popper Kitt

Hostility to Soviet Communism, illustrated by this painted-over "down with Russia" graffiti, has led some Western leftists to see Solidarity as a right-wing movement.

SOLIDARITY WITH



A SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS

Tuesday, February 23, 12 noon - 1 pm

THE ROOTS OF POLAND'S SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

Speaker: **JAN FEDOROWICZ,** Professor of History, University of Western Ontario. Author of two books on Polish history. Author of a recent CBC radio documentary on the Polish crisis.

Location: University of Toronto campus, NEW COLLEGE, Room 1016.

Tuesday, March 2, 12 noon - 1 pm

A PICTURE OF SOLIDARITY IN CANADA

Speaker: **ZYGMUNT PRZETAKIEWICZ,** Chief of the Solidary Information Bureau of Canada.

Location: Faculty of Library Sciences, 7th Floor Lounge, North Tower, Robarts Library

Tuesday, March 9, 12 noon - 1 pm

POLITICAL MILITANCY AND THE RANK AND FILE OF SOLIDARITY

Speaker: **DANNY DRACHE,** Dept. of Political Economy, York University. Conducted a study among rank and file Solidary members, Summer 1981.

Location: **T.B.A.**

Tuesday, March 16, 12 noon - 1 pm

INSIDE POLAND: THE FIRST MONTH OF MARTIAL LAW

Speaker: MARK LUKASIEWICZ, Globe and Mail reporter. Was in Poland for 2½ weeks following the imposition of martial law. Author of a recent Globe and Mail series, "Inside Poland".

Location: T.B.A.

***Thursday, March 25, 12 noon - 1 pm**

SOLIDARITY: PROBLEMS AND DILEMMAS

Speaker: HENRYK FLAKIERSKI, Depts. of Economics and Social Sciences, York University. Has written extensively on problems of Poland and other East European nations.

*Note different weekday.

Location: T.B.A.

Tuesday, March 30, 12 noon - 1 pm

HOW BEST TO DEFEND SOLIDARITY: WORKERS' RIGHTS, SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE COLD WAR

Presented by: POLISH WORKERS SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Location: Faculty of Library Sciences, 7th Floor Lounge, North Tower, Robarts Library

---

Sponsored by: S.A.C., University of Toronto
Organized by POLISH WORKERS SOLIDARY COMMITTEE
191 Lippincott Street, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2P3, Phone 535-1341 or 762-1392. (For more information, visit our lunch-hour literature table in Sidney Smith Foyer.)

● Demonstrate Your Solidarity ! ●

SIGN AND HELP CIRCULATE THIS APPEAL !

Stop The Show-Trials in Poland !

A new phase of repression is about to begin in Poland. Not content with outlawing the independent democratic trade union Solidarity or with effectively supressing all other traditional means of dissent, the military regime headed by General Jaruzelski is now set to stage a series of show trials against thirteen leading Solidarity activists on charges of conspiracy and sedition. If found guilty — and the official press already berates them as such — the accused face a maximum penalty of death.

The accused are: Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Jan Litynski, Henryk Wujec, Jan Jozef Lipski, Miroslaw Chojecki (in Paris and charged in absentia), Andrzej Gwiazda, Karol Modzelewski, Jan Rulewski, Seweryn Jaworski, Grzegorz Palka, Marian Jurczyk, and Andrzej Rozplochowski. The first six have been advisors to Solidarity and were former leaders of KOR (Workers' Defence Committee, formed to assist workers victimized in the 1976 strikes). The seven others are top Solidarity representatives.

''Everything points to a judicial farce along the lines of the Moscow Trials or the trial of Dimitrov, accused of having burned the Reichstag.'' So stated defendant Adam Michnik in his ''Open Letter to the International Community'' appealing for support.

Michnik's paralleling of the coming trials with the infamous frame-up trials staged by Stalin and with those staged by Hitler during the thirties is valid. Their aim is the same: to serve up scapegoats for the regime's own crimes against the people of Poland.

The accusations themselves, moreover, are patent fabrications.

At no time have any of the defendants advocated terrorism. They have repeatedly called for peaceful change and the democratization of public and working life through negotiations based on respect for the 1980 Gdansk Accords signed by the government. It is the state authorities who have sabotaged this peaceful and legitimate process. It is they who have used terror and violence against an unarmed populace.

Worldwide public opinion must not allow this monstrous political frame-up to go unchallenged. If carried out, these trials and threatened executions may be but a prelude to similar measures against the thousands who are still being held in prison and others who continue to resist the repressive actions of the authorities.

We, the undersigned, appeal to the Polish authorities:

1] immediately drop all charges against the accused;

2] immediately release them from custody;

3] halt all further harassment of them in exercising their legitimate rights of speech, publication and association;

AND FURTHER,

We appeal that, should the authorities persist in their present course, they grant the accused open trials held in full view of the world, and they grant representatives of properly constituted bodies of international labour and legal opinion, status before the Polish courts to monitor these trials and to participate in the defence of the accused.

● *Donate to the Defense Campaign Fund!* ●

Your donation will help place this appeal in as many publications as possible and further assist us in the campaign on behalf of the accused. (Please make cheque out to "STOP THE SHOW-TRIALS FUND.")

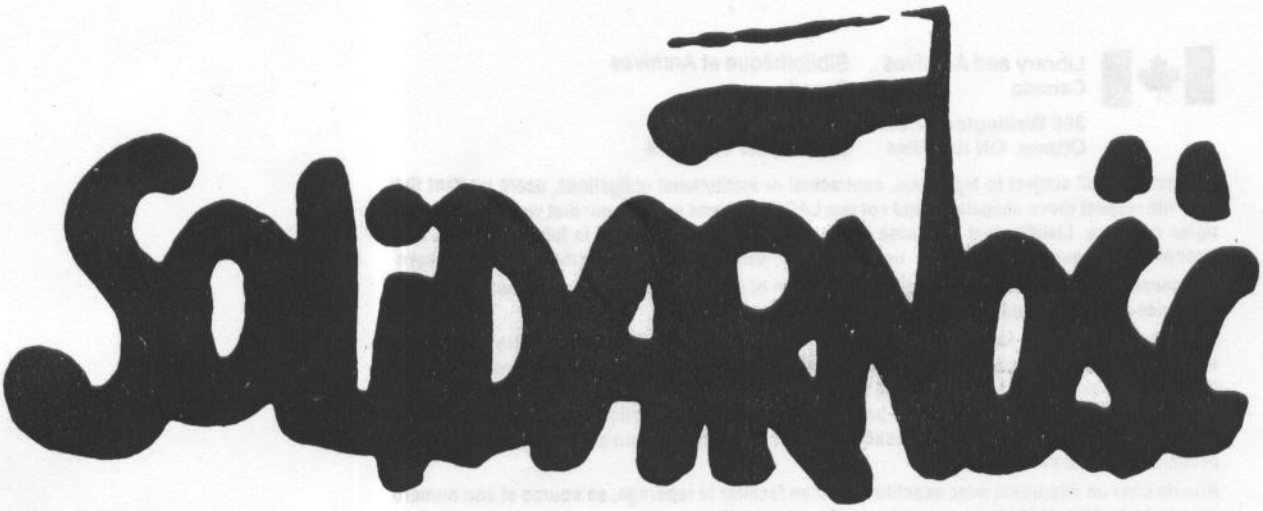
I sign the appeal.

Signature	Name	Address	Phone	I hereby donate	I want to help [✓]
				$	
				$	

Please forward this sheet and donations to:

CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE SHOW-TRIALS
c/o Solidarity Support Committee of Toronto
P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ontario M9C 4V2
Tel.: (416) 532-3838

SOLIDARITY WITH



WE THE UNDERSIGNED protest the imposition of Martial Law and the suppression of basic human rights in Poland. Working people, East and West, must have the right to independent trade union organization and the right to strike.

We strongly reject the stand taken by Pierre Trudeau and the Canadian Government, which puts "stability and order" in Poland above fundamental human rights.

WE DEMAND:
*The end of Martial Law in Poland
*The release of all jailed SOLIDARNOSC members and political prsoners
*The immediate restoration of full trade union rights to SOLIDARNOSC

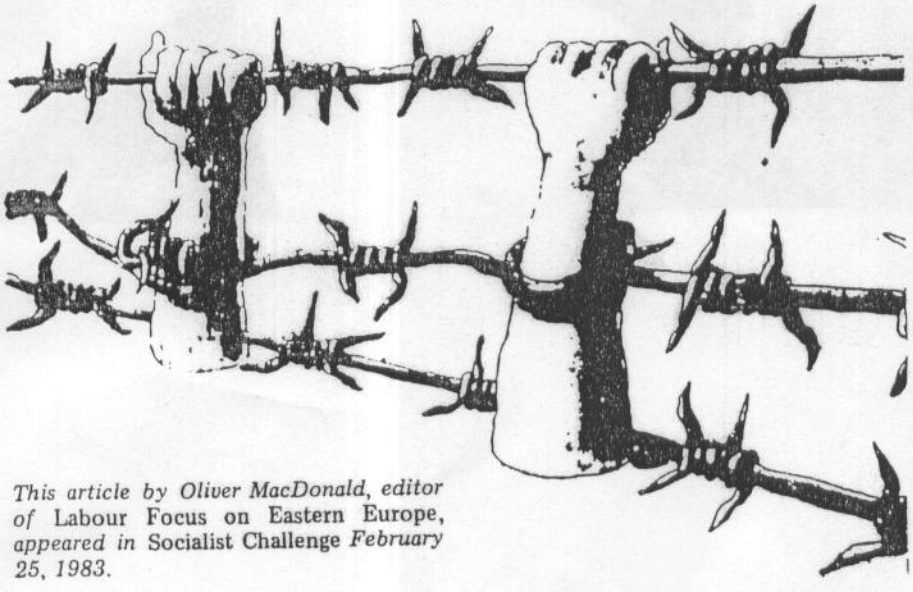
Until these demads are met, we call on the Canadian Government to institute a total boycott of trade with the Soviet Union and Poland, as called for by SOLIDARNOSC in its recent Zurich declaration. We also call on the Canadian Government to give humanitarian aid, food and medical supplies, to the Polish people through international organizations, such as the Red Cross.

NAME	SIGNATURE	PHONE NO.	UNION, ORGANIZATION

Polish Workers Solidarity Cttee - 771 Euclid - 5351341

printed with union labour at Muskox Press

BALUKA MUST BE FREED



This article by Oliver MacDonald, editor of Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, *appeared in* Socialist Challenge *February 25, 1983.*

Over the last week news has arrived from Poland that Edmund Baluka is gravely ill in prison after four weeks on hunger strike. His case demands urgent action from the entire left.

Baluka has played a historic role in the life of the Polish working class. He led the workers' strikes in Szczecin in 1970-71 that brought down the Gomulka regime and laid the foundations for the tradition of independent working class action that re-emerged in August 1980 in the strike movement that gave birth to Solidarity.

Forced into exile in the early 1970s, Baluka lived for a number of years in Britain, working in a Manchester factory. In the late 1970s he moved to Paris and, with the help of Marxists there, he produced a bulletin championing workers' rights and socialist ideas.

In the Spring of 1981 he returned illegally to Poland — the demand of the Szczecin strike committee in August 1980 that he be allowed to return had not been acted upon by the authorities. He regained his job in the Warski shipyard, his old work-place, and was very active in the working class movement there until the military coup of 13 December. He was then interned for many months.

While all the other internees in Wierzchowo camp were eventually released, Baluka was not. Instead he was arrested in the camp and held in the notorious Szczecin Kaszubska prison in complete isolation. He remains there to this day.

Baluka is one of the very few original internees to be held in jail under arrest. The other two groups are the seven top leaders of Solidarity and the five prominent KOR activists who played an influential role in Solidarity.

Baluka himself was not a leader of Solidarity, but the police have a special reason for singling him out. He formed a socialist party in Szczecin and proclaimed the need for the workers to organise their struggles around a socialist programme. The great majority of the workers did not see the value of creating a separate party outside Solidarity and Solidarity itself did not formally adhere to a socialist programme.

But the regime saw the long-term threat that Baluka posed and also noted the enormous personal authority he still commanded amongst the Szczecin workers. This universal respect was enhanced by his courageous and intransigent leadership amongst the internees. Baluka also is the only one of the top leaders of the 1970-71 movement to remain prominent in the working class movement. For all these reasons, the police want to break him and smear him with lies and slanders in the media through a show-trial.

The projected trial of the 7 Solidarity leaders and 5 KOR activists must be a key focus of protests by the labour movement in Britain. But the fate of Baluka must be given equal prominence on the left, all the more so because he will gain little publicity in the mass media here in comparison with the other two cases.

Edmund Baluka was a founding sponsor of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* and educated those of us who knew him on the real conditions of the working class in Poland. He helped, in the late 1970s, to bring together the different strands of socialist opinion here in a common effort to defend workers' rights in Eastern Europe. That unity is needed now in his defence.

Protest letters and telegrams calling for his release should be sent to: *The Governor, Areszt Sledczy, U1. Kaszubska, Szczecin, Poland.*

• Sign and circulate this appeal ! •

• *Donate to the defense campaign fund $* •

Stop the Show-Trials in Poland!

A new phase of repression is about to begin in Poland. Not content with outlawing the independent democratic trade union Solidarity or with effectively suppressing all other traditional means of dissent, the military regime headed by General Jaruzelski is now set to stage a series of show trials against thirteen leading Solidarity activists on charges of conspiracy and sedition. If found guilty — and the official press already berates them as such — the accused face a maximum penalty of death.

The accused are: Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Jan Litynski, Henryk Wujec, Jan Jozef Lipski, Miroslaw Chojecki (in Paris and charged in absentia), Andrzej Gwiazda, Karol Modzelewski, Jan Rulewski, Seweryn Jaworski, Grzegorz Palka, Marian Jurczyk, and Andrzej Rozplochowski. The first six have been advisors to Solidarity and were former leaders of KOR (Workers' Defence Committee, formed to assist workers victimized in the 1976 strikes). The seven others are top Solidarity representatives.

"Everything points to a judicial farce along the lines of the Moscow Trials or the trial of Dimitrov, accused of having burned the Reichstag." So stated defendant Adam Michnik in his "Open Letter to the International Community" appealing for support.

Michnik's paralleling of the coming trials with the infamous frame-up trials staged by Stalin and with those staged by Hitler during the thirties is valid. Their aim is the same: to serve up scapegoats for the regime's own crimes against the people of Poland.

The accusations themselves, moreover, are patent fabrications.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1983

INITIATING ENDORSERS: **BROMLEY ARMSTRONG,** former Ontario Human Rights Commissioner, **MARGARET ATWOOD,** author, **GREGORY BAUM,** theologian, **PIERRE BERTON,** author, **JUNE CALLWOOD,** journalist, **PAUL COPELAND,** lawyer, **DR. J. K. FEDOROWICZ,** historian, **DR. H. NORTHROP FRYE,** University professor and Literary Critic, **CY GONICK** of Canadian Dimension, **TERESA RAKOWSKA-HARMSTONE,** professor of political science, Carleton University, **JOHN HARKER,** international affairs director, Canadian Labour Congress, **GRACE HARTMAN,** president, Canadian Union of Public Employees, **HARRY KOPYTO,** lawyer, **DENNIS McDERMOTT,** president, Canadian Labour Congress, **DAVE PATTERSON,** director, District 6, United Steelworkers of America, **NORMAN PENNER,** professor of political science, York University, **STAN PERSKY,** author, **CLAYTON C. RUBY,** lawyer, **GORDON SKILLING,** professor of political science, University of Toronto, **JOSEF SKVORECKY,** author, **MEL WATKINS,** professor of economics, University of Toronto.

FROM OUR ONGOING LIST OF ENDORSERS:

A. C. Eggleton, Mayor of Toronto; Michael Harcourt, Mayor of Vancouver; Jan Kaszuba, Canadian Polish Congress; Ontario Public Service Employees Union; Jerzy Kopczynski; Zygmunt Przetakiewicz; Dr. James G. Endicott; Dennis Lee; John L. Fryer, NUPGE; Reuben Slonim; Elliot Rose; Society of Polish Seamen and Exiles; Dave Barrett; The Hon. Flora MacDonald; Clair Culhane, Prisoner's Rights Group; Metro Toronto CUPE Council; J & G Boyd; Gerry Hunnius; Frank Showler; Bogdan Czaykowski; Ontario NDP Caucus; Chester Sanford, NSFL; Irwin Cotler; Gilles Frenette; Myrna Kotash; J-M Judkowiak; Richard Kolasiewicz; R. Roman; Ross Dowson; D. Brandt; John Parry; J. Darling; E. Synan; M. Matuszewski; T. Shopian; S. Niewojt; A. Jarosz; T. Dabrowski; G. Slonska; W. & W. Wladyczanski; D. Donnell; Dr. R. & P. Gorczynski; T. Cienski; P. Rolitnicki; B. Emerson; M. Melo; M. Ciechomski; R. Hick; P. Rokitnicki-Wojcik; W. Krajewski; Z. Boyd; L. Lenkinski; Ed Philip, MPP; R. Cimek; M. Kozlowski; Z. Jakubowska; Homer Seguin; Bob Rae; J. Chalubinski; K. Endelman; George Luckyj; D. Leitch; J. Barrett; Ben Kunat; G. & R. Doctorow; C. Bosher; M. Rowles; B. Kovrig; Dr. A. Medwecki; P. McLaren; Simon Rosenblum; J. I. Vorst; Greg Halonen; Wally Majesky, Metro Labor Council; K. McRobbie; O. Di Santo; M. R. Marrus; G. Leake; Donald C. MacDonald; R. A. Hasson; W. Pachulec; G. F. Cowley; Ontario Public Service Employees Union Local 563; Milton Israel; R. Friedrich; A. Sledz; Chandler Davis; K. Krzysztof; Cliff Pilkey, OFL; D. Schwartz; S. & A. Jaszczyk; J. McKay; Liisa North; Joe Meslin; I. Evreinov; F. Krupa; J. Neal; S. Shephard; D. S. Flack; M. C. Whelton; W. Sokolski; K. Krystek; R. Sas-Korczynski; T. Sinclair-Faulkner; W. E. Mann; B. D. Jones; Lois Bedard; J. R. Glenn; L. Borgeat; J. Capek; R. Cujes; W. Pierzchajlo; Waclaw Iwaniuk; Abraham Rotstein; International Socialists; H. Johnson; J. Loxley; E. Andrew; N. Epstein; Dr. P. Bein; Dr. S. Dubiski; B. J. Porter; Allan Blakeney; Yukon NDP Caucus; Ed File; N. D. Emmett; Z. Gruszka; A. Wyzga; P. S. Kralka; E. Rudnicki; S. Porczynski; J. Kolaczek; S. Kaflinska; Ed Gil; T. Gil; Z. Noworolska; J. Ferens; M. Augustyniak; Z. J. Janik; J. S. Lis; W. J. Stankiewicz; M. Goetz-Stankiewicz; International Moulders and Allied Workers Local 28; D. M. Rayside; Gerry Hunnius; Fred Callahan, USWA; M. Shkandrij; Galina Kruberg; IUE Local 597; J.F. Fagan; Sylvie Arend; Ed Silva; R. Poirick, J. Lacoursiere; C. Brouillette; J.-F. Lacoursiere; Father Synan; M. A. Gilbert; L. Lefeber; B. E. Erickson; R. E. Stren; Stephen Clarkson; J. Campbell; J. Pawlik; M. J. Sydenham; T. L. Pangle; M. Murmis; V. Overend; R. B. Day; A. Forer; C. Schenk; L. Shopkow & W. Crawford; Brantford Labour Council; H. & E. De Graaf; Harold Swann; Marion Bryden, MPP; H. Huggett; J. L. H. Keep; H. Lukin Robinson; E. Lilienstein; C. Korwin-Kuczynski; J. A. Laponce; Chris De Bresson; Bill Blaikie, MP; Anne Dowson; R. Modlich-Evdemon; N. B. Hoobs; C. Pratt; P. Brock; Dr. W. M. Vanderburg; S. Lipka; J. Koenig; K. Stankiewicz; J. Stankiewicz; W. W. Straka; R. Retman; W. Opechowski; Arthur Davis; R. Manzer; D. Rogers; Jean Louis de Lannoy; A. L. Wernick; B. Kyle; E. Heyworth; Collection Sheet No. 1 — Buffalo — Janice Schulz; E. Busza; S. Kowalczyk; Dr. J. A. Wainwright; J. Phillips; Ruth Bleasdale; J. Torka; H. Cuber; Brett Donaldson; Brewery Workers. Local 326; B. Burch; T. & G. Oskarbski; Helen Kirkman; J. & Z. Paluch; J. Blondowski; I. Jaffray; B. Diacon; C. Denomy & M. Brett; D. Fraser; F. Jones; Diane Holland; Carl Cuneo; Vivian Walters; Jane Synge; Karen March; Peter Archibald; Barb McQuarrie, CUPE Local 1277, Carleton University; [illegible]

At no time have any of the defendants advocated terrorism. They have repeatedly called for peaceful change and the democratization of public and working life through negotiations based on respect for the 1980 Gdansk Accords signed by the government. It is the state authorities who have sabotaged this peaceful and legitimate process. It is they who have used terror and violence against an unarmed populace.

Worldwide public opinion must not allow this monstrous political frame-up to go unchallenged. If carried out, these trials and threatened executions may be but a prelude to similar measures against the thousands who are still being held in prison and others who continue to resist the repressive actions of the authorities.

We, the undersigned, appeal to the Polish authorities:

1) **immediately drop all charges against the accused;**
2) **immediately release them from custody;**
3) **halt all further harassment of them in exercising their legitimate rights of speech, publication and association;**

AND FURTHER,

We appeal that, should the authorities persist in their present course, they grant the accused open trials held in full view of the world, and they grant representatives of properly constituted bodies of international labour and legal opinion, status before the Polish courts to monitor these trials and to participate in the defence of the accused.

tion; David Tomczak; Bob Rose; Greg Kealey; Jan Tereszczenko; Metro Toronto CUPE Council; Hon. John C. Crosbie; C. Sadowski; J. Bacher; R. Lindheim; C. F. J. Ross; R. Senkus; M. Gandall; Donna F. MacAulay; Taras Lehkyj; Luc Aujame; H. Lorenc; Z. Grubiak; W. Mroczek; I. Lopapa; L. Rakowski; M. Panaro; Dr. B. Starzecki; Father B. Smiglak; Dr. K. Papalas; S. Kmiec; S. Walichnowski; K. Jakubowicz; C. Lorenc; Elwila Naskret; M. Naskret; F. Caloren; Malcolm Buchanan; Dr. P. Lane; Dr. E. Gadamer; N. Nedelkoff; A. Keszei; M. & N. Skoczynski; Jars Balan; J. Charles; F. C. Englemann; Halya Freeland; Liz Hagell; O. Herrera; B. Krawchenko; Joanna Matejko; P. Matilainen; B. Peel; Carol Read; C. Richardson; J. C. Robb; K. Roczkowsky; A. Rutkowski; East European Solidarity Committee (Edmonton); Monique Audette; Roche Denis; P. E. Lapalme; Susanne Puch; Louis Gill; Comite de Solidarite avec les Travailleurs Polonais (Montreal); Conseil d'Action Solidarnosc; Groupe Socialiste de Travailleurs (SWG); D. S. Marshall; L. Jaworski; Canadian Polish Congress, BC Branch; A. Busza; A. Paradis; H. Rosenfeld; G. Latkiewicz; Beverly Shientag-Kerruish, ACTWU; Polish Workers Solidarity Committees of Hamilton, St. Catharines & Toronto; Service Employees International Union, Local 532; S. Dankowich; C. Iliopoulos; Sofia Jakubowski; A. Jakubowski; R. Goldman; J. F. Howes; Dr. D. C. Bereznicka; R. Makowski; Eva Dixon; Polish National Assoc., London; W. J. Karpinski; M. R. Welton; R. Dworakowski; K. Tibelius; K. Nietresta; F. J. C. Griffiths; J. Miszczak; Dr. D. Edwards; R. Jarmakowicz; T. Janicki; R. B. Bahrij-Pikulyk; Dorothy Thomas; Heather Robertson; Polish Cdn. Women's Federation, Branch 2; Helen Jasinski; M. Faskirl; C. Roszkiewicz; T. Polak; J. Mechor; S. Ziolkowska; J. Proukiewicz; K. Zrodlowski; A. Swiatecki; M. Wilczak; A. Judyk; Z. Judyk; J. Jasieniuk; P. Sopiera; Collection Sheet #1 — Polish Catholic Parish, Saskatoon; Pia J. Christensen; Iza Laponce; A. A. Endelman; R. D. Bennett; Suzanne Dodson; G. Brandak; C. S. Khanna; G. Whitley; Lois J. Carrier; L. M. Karpinski; R. Hagler; M. Burke; S. Rothstein; J. D. McIntosh; Dorothy Shields; Joan Selby; M. Dutton; B. Allen; STRIKE: Collective; Bert Young; D. Brandt; M. W. Mucha; Ed Reece; Sam Fox, ACTWU; Timothy McCarthy, NB Fed. Labour; Rail Canada Traffic Controllers; Dick Martin, Manitoba Federation of Labours.

(Please clip and send IMMEDIATELY)

I wish to be one of the signatories of the appeal.

Signed _____

Enclosed is my donation of $_____ to help with the cost of the ad and to further promote the defense campaign.
(Please make out cheques/money orders to **Stop The Show Trials Fund.**)

Name _____

Address _____

Tel. (____) _____

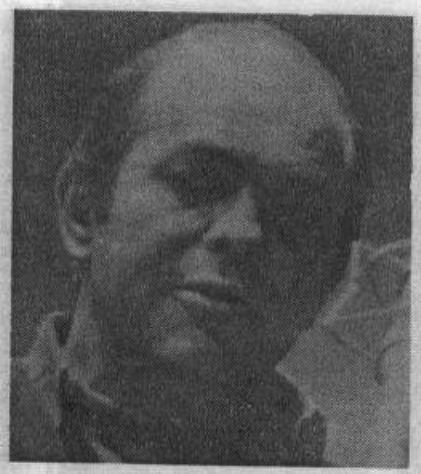
Postal Code _____

RUSH TO: CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE SHOW TRIALS
c/o: Solidarity Support Committee of Toronto, P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ontario M9C 4V2

...OVER

13 Polish Solidarity Leaders Face Death Sentence

MICHNIK, Adam. Historian, founding member and a leading theoretician of KOR, imprisoned for participating in the 1968 student protest, co-editor of the independant journals **Zapis** (Record) and **Krytyka** (Critique), author of **Dialogue Between the Church and the Left,** frequently arrested and beaten between 1978 and 1980, from 1980 adviser to Solidarity.

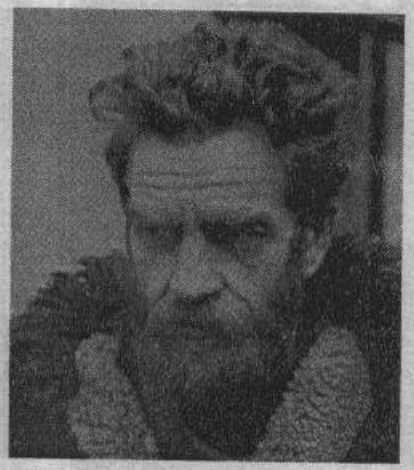


KURON, Jacek. Lecturer, founding member and a leading theoretician of KOR, expelled from the Communist party in 1965 and sentenced to 3 years for writing (with Karol Modzelewski) an open letter criticizing the management of state affairs, released in 1967 and again jailed for participating in the 1968 student revolt, released in 1971, after 1980 a leading adviser to Solidarity.

RULEWSKI, Jan. Civil engineer, head of the Bydgoszcz branch of Solidarity, as member of the National Coordinating Commission participated in negotiations with the government on problems of food distribution, prices and employment, brutally beaten by police in March 1981, delegate to Solidarity's First Congress, member of the National Committee.

MODZELEWSKI, Karol. Historian, expelled from the Communist Party in 1965 and imprisoned for writing (with Jacek Kuron) an open letter criticizing the management of state affairs, released in 1967 and again jailed following student protests in 1968, released in 1971, executive member of the Wroclaw branch of Solidarity, delegate to Solidarity's First Congress, member of the National Committee.

JURCZYK, Marian. Welder and storeman, Strike Committee leader in Szczecin in 1970-71, head of the Szczecin Interfactory Strike Committee in 1980, head of the Szczecin branch of Solidarity, delegate to Solidarity's First Congress, member of the National Committee presidium.



GWIAZDA, Andrzej. Electronic engineer, collaborator of KOR, founding member in 1978 of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast and editor of its publication **Robotnik Wybrzeza** (The Coastal Worker), member of the Interfactory Strike Committee presidium at Gdansk in August 1980, member of the Gdansk regional Directorate of Solidarity, delegate to Solidarity's First Congress, deputy Chairman of the National Committee.

LITYNSKI, Jan. Mathematician, member of KOR, imprisoned following the 1968 student revolt, organizer of aid to workers in Radom following the 1976 strikes, co-editor of KOR's Information Bulletin and of its periodical **Robotnik** (The Worker).

WUJEC, Henryk. Physician, member of KOR, member of the Club of Catholic Intellectuals, organizer of aid to workers at Ursus following the 1976 strikes, co-editor of KOR's periodical **Robotnik** (The Worker).

ROZPLOCHOWSKI, Andrzej. Car mechanic, head of the Strike Committee at the Katowice steel mills in August 1980, head of the Katowice branch of Solidarity to July 1981, head of Solidarity's subcommittee for defense of political prisoners, delegate to Solidarity's First Congress, member of the National Committee.

CHOJECKI, Miroslaw. Chemist, member of KOR, member of the Democratic Student Movement in 1968, head of **Nowa** publishing house, Solidarity expert in printing and publishing, in exile to France when indicted in September 1982, remains charged in absentia.

JAWORSKI, Seweryn. Steelworker, head of Solidarity at the Warsaw Iron Works, deputy chairman of the Mazowsze (Warsaw) region of Solidarity, delegate to Solidarity's First Congress, member of the National Committee.

LIPSKI, Jan Jozef. Linguist and literary critic, member of KOR, veteran of the Warsaw Uprising against the Fascist occupation, Solidarity delegate to the Parliamentary Commission on Censorship, in London when charged in September 1982. He immediately returned to face his accusers.

PALKA, Grzegorz. Research worker, member of the Factory Committee at the Polytechnical School in Lodz, deputy head of the Lodz branch of Solidarity, delegate to Solidarity's First Congress, member of the National Committee presidium where he was in charge of economic questions.

Published by the

Campaign to Stop the Show Trials

Post Office Box 174, Etobicoke, Ont. M9C 4V2

A COPIER ET A CIRCULER

RETOURNER IMMEDIATEMENT!

(TRADUCTION)

TEXTE D'UN APPEL A ETRE PUBLIER EVEC NOMS DANS LE Globe and Mail (Edition Nationale) SAMEDI, 5 MARS

Cout de l'annonce: $4.500

DATE LIMITE: MERCREDI, 2 MARS

HALTE AU PROCES TRUQUES EN POLOGNE!

La répression vient de franchir un nouveau cap en Pologne. La mise hors la loi du syndicat indépendant et démocratique Solidarité et la suppression effective de tous les moyens tradionnels pout emprimer l'opposition n'ont pas contenté le régime militaire dirigé par le général Jaruzelski qui a maintenant décidé de traduire en justice, dans une série de procès truqués, treize dirigeants de Solidarité accusés de conspiration et de sédition. S'ils sont jugés coupables -- et las presse officielle les traite déjà comme tel -- les accusés sont passibles de la peine maximale, la peine de mort.

Les accusés sont: Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Jan Litynski, Henryk Wujec, Jan Jozef Lipski, Miroslaw Chojecki (à Paris, accusé "in absentia"), Andrzej Gwiazda, Karol Modzelewski, Jan Rulewski, Seweryn Jaworski, Grzegorz Palka, Marian Jurczyk, et Andrzej Rozplochowski. Les six premiers ont été conseillers de Solidarité et anciens dirigeants du KOR (Comite d'Autodéfense Sociale mis sur pied pour soutenir les travailleurs victimes dans des grèves de 1976). Les sept autres sont des leaders de Solidarité.

"Tout indique qu'il ne s'agit que d'une autre farce juridique, conforme au procès de Moscou ou du procès de Dimitrov, accusé d'avoir brûlé le Reichstag." C'est ainsi que s'exprime Adam Michnik, dans sa "Lettre Ouverte à la Communauté Internationale".

Le parallel etabli par Michnik entre les procès polonais et les procès truqués, infâmes, tranés par Staline ou ceux de Hitler, durant les années trentes, est incontestable. Les buts sont les mêmes: fabriquer des boucémissaires pour les crimes commis par le régime lui-même contre le peuple polonais.

Les accusations elles-mêmes, d'ailleurs, sont des fabrications évidentes.

Jamais aucun des accusés n'a donné son appuis au térrorisme. Ils ont sans cesse appelé à un changement pacifique et à une democratisation de la vie ouvrière et publique, à travers des negotiations fondées sur le respect des Accords de Gdansk de 1980, accords signés par le gouvernement polonais. Ce sont les autorités gouvernementales qui ont saboté ce processus pacifique et légitime. Ce sont elles qui ont utilisé la terreur et la violence contre une population désarmée.

L'opinion publique internationale ne peut rester muette devant ce truquage politique monstrueux. Ces procès, et les menaces d'executions qui les accompagnent, ne peuvent être que le prélude à de mesures similaires contre les milliers de gens qui sont toujours détenus dans les prisons et les autres qui continuent leur resistance contre la repression de la junte.

Nous, soussigné(e)s, exigeons des autorités polonaises:

1) le retrait immediat des accusations portées contre les militants de Solidarité et du KOR;

2) leur libération immediate;

3) l'arret de tout harcèlement les empêchant d'exercer leur droits legitimes d'expression, de publication et d'association;

ET DE PLUS,

Si les autorites polonaises persistent dans la même voie, nous exigeons: la tenue de proces publiques, ouverts au publique international; nous exigeons que des représentants mandatés du mouvement ouvrier international ainsi que des avocats puissent assister aux procès et participer a la défense des accusés.

----------(A découper et envoyer a l'adresse ci-dessous)----------

Je veux être signateur de l'appel ci-dessus; je souhaite que mon nom apparaisse dans le Globe and Mail du 5 mars.

Signature _____

Je fournis la somme de $_____ pour couvrir les couts de publicite de cet appel et les frais futurs de toute campagne de soutien. (S.V.P. faire les cheques ou les mandats à l'ordre de STOP THE SHOW-TRIALS FUND.)

Nom/occupation/organisme:

_____

_____

Addresse/ville/code et telephone:

_____

_____

CAMPAGNE CONTRE LES PROCES TRUQUES, P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ont. M9C 4V2.
(416) 532-3838

THUNDER BAY

Thunder Bay Solidarnosc Support Committee
Miroslaw Cenkowski
308 E. Miles St., apt. 3, Thunder Bay, Ont. P7C 1J7
tel: (807)-623-6408

WINDSOR

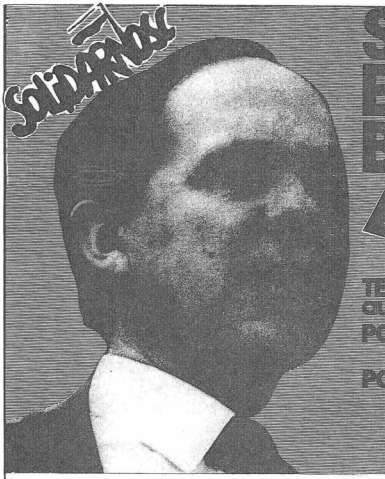
Windsor Solidarity Committee
Jim Brophy
824 Tecumseh Rd. East., Windsor, Ontario N8X 2S3
tel: (519)-254-4192 (wk)

WINNIPEG

Winnipeg Solidarnosc Committee
Marian Naskret
945 Bannerman Ave., Winnipeg, Man. R2X 1K4
tel: (204)-589-1339

VANCOUVER

Committee in Support of Solidarity
prof. Bogdan Czaykowski
3669 West 34 Ave., Vancouver, B.C. V6N 2K9



SAUVONS EDMUND BALUKA !

Multiplions les initiatives:
TELEGRAMMES-DELEGATIONS
au consulat polonais, etc...
POUR mettre fin à son isolement
POUR l'obtention de son statut de prisonnier politique

POUR L'ARRÊT DES PROCÈS!

POUR L'ARRÊT DES CONDAMNATIONS!

COMITÉ DE SOLIDARITÉ AVEC LES TRAVAILLEURS POLONAIS

SOLIDARITY SUPPORT COMMITTEE OF TORONTO
TORONTOŃSKI KOMITET POPARCIA SOLIDARNOŚCI

P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ontario, M9C 4V2
tel: (416) 621-0255(English & Polish), 255-2951(Polish),
532-8809(Eng & Pol), 531-2738(English).

17 March 1983

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TOP SOLIDARITY LEADERS FACE IMMINENT SEDITION TRIALS IN POLAND

CROSS-CANADA DEFENSE CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED

Any day now, 13 top leaders of Solidarity are to be hauled before the Polish military courts on charges of conspiracy and sedition -- charges that may bring the maximum sentence of death. As Lech Walesa has said, the trials of the accused will, in effect, be the trial of Solidarity itself.

A pan-Canadian campaign of defense has been launched with the publication of an appeal against the impending trials in the March 5 national edition of the Globe and Mail (see enclosed). Part of an international effort now underway, the aim of the campaign is to raise the broadest protest from the Canadian public in order to bring maximum pressure to bear on the Polish authorities to stay their hand. This will be done by continuing to circulate and solicit support for the appeal from individuals and organizations, and to have it printed in as many publications across the country -- and abroad -- as possible.

However, as the trials are imminent and almost certain to go ahead, an urgent aspect of the campaign is the raising of funds from across the country to send a legal delegation from Canada to attempt to attend and monitor the trials of the accused, and if possible to participate in their defense. This Canadian effort will likely be organized as part of an international legal delegation to Poland.

Finally, if the trials remain closed to international participation, we are considering the organizing of an independent international tribunal to examine the charges against the accused.

For further information, contact the

CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE SHOW-TRIALS
P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ont., M9C 4V2, tel: (416) 532-3838

Meeting of the Trade Union Committee of Toronto Solidarity Support Committee
March 17,1983 International Student Centre

present--George L, Steve, Ross D, plus Nick De Carlo-82 Sussex-9239156
Zane excused self Luciano Citladini-39 Carr St Court #103
365-1492

Discussion on circulation of Stop Show Trials leaflet-it was reported that the ecexuitve has agreed to the printing of 5M copies. It was agreed that we appeal to the executive to fund us with $100 for a mailing --mailing of all labor councils will cost $40 alone. Reported that Toronto area labor council will encloase material from us in its next mailing. It was agreed tha Zane would prepare and supply the council with a covering letter which would urge locals to purchase copies of the Stop Show Trials leaflet at $5 per C for their members or shop stewards, that would offer to supply speakers and bring their attention to the Persky Source book on Solidarity, particularly the parts dealing with workers control-section V p.177 . The number of labor councils is 80 outside Ontario and 43 inside Ont.
The Toronto Labor Council meets ist thursday of the month -agreed to cover
Future events known at this time in the Toronto area to be covered-Intl Student Day Mar 23rd- Solidarity with Quebec Teachers Rally Mar 28
Motion that TSSC(trade union) foramlly endorse Mar 28 appeal--agreed that Steve ask permission to put up a table
Report on progress with lawyers committee to go to Poland -vice presCdn P Con
Agreed that next meeting be Wednesday April 6 place to be checked out with Zane as to his success in obtaining facilities from a union

SOLIDARITY SUPPORT COMMITTEE OF TORONTO
TORONTOŃSKI KOMITET POPARCIA SOLIDARNOŚCI

P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ontario, M9C 4V2
tel: (416) 621-0255(English & Polish), 255-2951(Polish),
532-8809(Eng & Pol), 531-2738(English).

2 April 1983

TO ALL SOLIDARITY SUPPORT COMMITTEES AND INDIVIDUAL SUPPORTERS

Dear Friends:

The Campaign to Stop the Show-Trials has embarked on a new and urgent undertaking, and we need your support and collaboration.

The Brussels office of Solidarity Abroad informs us that the trials of the 13 Solidarity activists charged with sedition are expected to begin any time now, possibly as soon as early this month.

An ad hoc committee of lawyers--the Lawyers' Committee to Stop the Show-Trials-- has been formed here in Toronto within the past few days to make immediate preparations and raise the necessary funds to send a delegation of Canadian lawyers to Poland as soon as possible to monitor the trials. Similar delegations, we are told, are attempting to attend from countries in Europe.

The Lawyers' Committee hopes to expand to include as many lawyers as possible not only in Toronto but right across the country. In fact, it has been in touch already with lawyers in Vancouver and Montreal who are interested in participating. For now, we are considering sending two or three lawyers, although more may be able to go, depending entirely upon how much can be raised in the very little time we have available. A number of lawyers have expressed interest in being part of the delegation and, in case they do go, they are applying now for individual visas, as this procedure takes a week in itself to complete.

The first public action of the Lawyers' Committee here in Toronto will be a forum held on Friday, April 8 co-sponsored with us, the Solidarity Support Committee of Toronto. (See enclosed flyer.)

We are urging all committees and individuals across the country to join in this effort to send a lawyers' delegation to Poland by 1) helping raise funds for this explicit purpose and 2) approaching lawyers to get their support and participation and to help extend the Lawyers Committee across the country. We hope to send a delegation that is as geographically representative as possible--for instance, one lawyer from the West, one from Ontario and one from Quebec. Or possibly we will be able to send more. Obviously, if you yourselves can raise enough funds to finance someone going from your own community, he/she would automatically be a part of the delegation. Meanwhile, any lawyer in your community who might be interested in being part of the delegation should apply for a visa right away, and he/she should contact the Lawyers' Committee in Toronto immediately.

Contact us immediately regarding any questions and/or suggestions you may have about this project. We also want to hear from you about other aspects of the campaign in your area to date. So far, we've had very little feedback.

Yours for Solidarity

S Dankowich

Steve Dankowich
correspondence secretary
Campaign to Stop the Show-Trials

TO CONTACT LAWYERS' COMMITTEE, PHONE HARRY KOPYTO: (416)-364-4215

TO CONTACT THE S.S.C.T., PHONE ZANE BOYD: (416)-532-3838

AGAINST CRUISE TESTING

DEMONSTRATE APRIL 23

DO YOU WANT CANADA TO BE A NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING RANGE?

On February 10th the Trudeau government signed a general weapons Testing Agreement with the U.S. A specific Cruise Missile testing agreement is next — unless we stop it!

The Cruise Missile is part of a new American **first strike** arsenal with the potential of starting World War III. The Reagan administration believes nuclear war can be fought and won! We cannot allow Canada to be a willing participant in such a nightmare.

Our government, in the midst of a recession, has already contributed over $50 million of our taxes towards the development of the Cruise missile guidance system. Now, again without consulting the Canadian people, the Trudeau government is preparing an agreement to test this weapon in Canada.

There is only one way to stop the testing of the Cruise missile. The Canadian people will have to force their government to listen!

1:00 P.M. QUEEN'S PARK

A project of:

AGAINST CRUISE TESTING COALITION

1293 Gerrard Street East (at Greenwood) Phone 469-4171

Endorsed by the Toronto Disarmament Network

(Found in 1983)

An appeal to Canadians from Solidarnosc

An appeal to the Peace and Anti-Nuclear Movement in Western Europe from the Committee for Social Resistance (KOS), a Polish nation-wide underground organization formed after the imposition of martial law as part of the Solidarnosc movement. This Open Letter is dated May 9 and appeared in the thirtieth issue of the KOS Bulletin. KOS organizes a variety of underground activities, including independent publishing and education.

World peace is threatened. The threat of nuclear annihilation hangs over all the inhabitants of this earth. An unbridled arms race is against the interest of all people, regardless of where they live. It threatens you, the inhabitants of Western Europe, just as it does us, the inhabitants of Eastern Europe.

It is therefore with respect and understanding that we view your protests against the growing frenzy of the arms race and the world-wide nuclear weapons build-up. We view your protest as a defense of the most basic human right: the right to live.

We are convinced, as you are, that war can bring the world nothing but death and destruction. We say NO, as you do, to the arms race. We are aware that the frontier dividing the two huge military blocs carries incalculable consequences for us all. We believe, however, that protesting the threat of war will be successful only when it is taken up by people living on both sides of the frontier that divides the two military blocs, in unison and on the basis of a joint program of demands. We believe that demanding an arms freeze by NATO countries, without simultaneously demanding a reduction of the military potential of the Warsaw Pact does not serve the cause of peace.

Your protest against the arms race is being exploited by East bloc propaganda: it is presented as a damand for unilateral disarmament by the (people of the) West. In this way the totalitarian communist system intends to exploit Western peace movements for its own aggressive and coercive ends. It is a tragic characteristic of our times that people of good will, genuinely engaged in the cause of defending peace, are exposed to manipulation by those who represent the most dangerous form of militarism.

The expansionist policy of the U.S.S.R. is based on military blackmail and aggressive and mendacious propaganda. Totalitarian systems have always resorted to this type of blackmail in their political dealings. We Poles are the victims of this blackmail, as are the Afghans, Czechs, Hungarians and other peoples subjugated to the U.S.S.R. The military power of the Warsaw Pact is built at the expense of increasing poverty and subjugation of millions of people living in the U.S.S.R. and the so-called "real socialist" countries.

The military build-up by these states is, in practice, unrestricted; there are no institutions of social control, the amount of resources for armaments is never made public knowledge, and the whole economic system, which is centrally administered, can, in practice, allow for this military build up without any restrictions. Another characteristic of totalitarianism is deceitful and aggressive propaganda that ignores public opinion.

Owing to propaganda that need not concern itself with facts, imperialist aims can be achieved under the slogans of "the struggle for peace" and "the fight for the liberations of oppressed nations". These slogans are a cover for violent and coercive activities. For us, war would mean not only annihilation but also death in the ranks of an army fighting for the imperialistic aims of a totalitarian system alien to us.

The peace movement, if it is to be a joint protest against the threat of war, must be based on a jointly conceived program of demands that take into account the realities of the system under which the nations subjugated to the U.S.S.R. live. This program must therefore include opposition to arms spending by the Warsaw Pact countries, spending which is unconstrained by any social control; it must militate against the nuclear arms of the Eastern bloc.

Accoridng to the legal system of totalitarian countries, any opposition to the build up of the State's military power is considered treason subject to several years' imprisonment at the very minimum. We are allowed to "fight for peace" only by demanding the disarmament of "our opponents". This, in practice, makes it impossible to carry on an open, public, and honest peace campaign in the countr of the Eastern bloc.

We turn to you with an appeal, that your demands against th deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europ be accompanied by a demand for the limitation of military power by the Warsaw Pact and a demand for the reduction of SS-20 missiles that are now aimed at your cities. We would like to count on your support in the struggle we are waging against totalitarian coercion and violence, which is today the fundamental threat to world peace. This is a struggle which of necessity must for us be an underground struggle.

The movement for the defence of peace grows out of moral protest against violence. It will therefore not fulfill its role if it is exploi ted by the propaganda of those regimes whose authority is based only on coercion.

We want the same as you: We want to live in peace and security, in conditions which guarantee us basic human and civil rights. In order to make the world in which we live more humane, we should unite our efforts. Let the international solidarity of people who wish to live in peace be expressed in unified action against all acts of violence, blackmail, and lawlessness throughout the world.

We await your reply, which (we hope) could be the starting point for future joint activities in defence of peace.

Reproduced by the Trade Union Group of the Solidarity Support Committee of Toronto from the August 15 issue of **SOLIDARNOSC NEWS**, compiled by the Information Office of NSZZ 'Solidarnosc' in Canada c/o The Canadian Labour Congress, 15 Gervais Drive, Don Mills, Ont., 441-3714. For further information contact the SSCT, P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ont., M9C 4V2, or phone George Latkiewicz 532-8809.

PRINTED BY UNION LABOUR

Labour's struggle for a better societyy- here in Canada against Capital's attempts to foist the crisis of its system onto their backs through massive unemployment and vicious cutbacks - is world- wide. May Day is the day of international working class solidarity.

In many countries across the globe our brothers and sisters are suffering under regimes that block their every effort to form organizations of their choice or brutally suppress those they succeed in forming. Such is the situation in Poland where the 10 million strong union Solidarnosc, recognized in the Godansk Agreement of August 1980, is being suppressed by a military regime. This May Day Solidarnosc demonstrates that it lives on and will prevail. And in soliarity [redacted] the Canadian labor movement extends its greetings to Poland's Solidarnosc.

Steve Dandrovich
Trade Union Chair

The Solidarity Support Committee of Toronto
Box 174 Etobicoke, M9C 4V2
Ont.,

trade union too
we have people in the
class who would approve
[illegible] May Day demo

Trudeau flouts Cruise protests

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

Vol. 8, No. 3 [48] ISBN 0700-9038 June-July 1983 Toronto 25 cents

(#49) Jun 1983

U.S. Union brass put hold on Hamilton local's treasury

by P. Kent

The members of Hamilton Steelworkers Local 1005, confronted by the Stelco bosses' campaign to wring concessions from them as negotiations for a new contract get underway, have suffered a crippling blow at the hands of the Pittsburg leadership of the union.

The international is withholding $50,000 a month for the next 8 months from the local's treasury. This amounts to about half of the usual dues kickback which it receives from automatic dues deduction in order to carry out the day-to-day services of the local. This attack on the local's operations has been justified on the grounds that $391,567 negotiated as part of the 1981 settlement to clear outstanding medical, dental and drug bills incurred by members during the 4 month long strike, should have been refunded to the international's strike fund and not used to pay outside bills incurred by the local.

International President McBride has appointed Canadian Steel director Gerrard Docquier and District Three director Len Stevens to examine the local's financial administration, suggesting that even more is owed the strike fund. Opposition forces in Local 1005 have taken advantage of the controversy — with the treasurer refusing to sign certain cheques — and a recent local meeting attended by about 250 of the locals 10,000 members rejecting by a narrow margin an executive motion seeking support for its fight against the international.

1005's President Cec Taylor sees the local as a victim of a "dangerous political game". The international officers are against me, he told the press, "because I am a nationalist, a left-wing socialist, and I'm tough". Taylor sees the international wanting him out of the way because he is opposed to their concessions policy. In the U.S. the union has agreed to a 41 month contract with a temporary wage reduction of $1.25 an hour and cutbacks on many benefits. Taylor has long been a champion of Canadian autonomy.

The international leadership's sequestering of Local 1005 resources took place as a policy conference was convening in Quebec City to hear a report of a task force that had been struck off by the 1981 Steelworkers convention.

The question of Canadian autonomy was a subject of deep concern to the delegates. Ontario director Dave Patterson directed it towards consideration of a proposal that a Canadian constitution be drawn up. Subsequently Patterson announced he had changed his mind. According to the task force's report only 12% of the 341 submissions proposed any changes to the constitution that would increase in any way the autonomy of the Canadian section.

With only a few dissenters the conference supported an ammendment to the international constitution that amounted to a token recognition of the Canadian director as the union's official spokesperson in Canada. The 10,000 member Local 1005 was conspicuously unrepresented at the policy conference.

In the meantime Local 1005, according to Taylor will be staffed by volunteers, except for the presidency. "We're going back to the old times when union services were voluntary".

Hit unemployment with shorter week

The 40-hour week has to go, declared Region 4 vice-president Art Gruntman when his union opened negotiations to renew its contracts expiring June 30. The Canadian Paperworkers (CLC) advanced as their key demand a 36 hour work week with a 12% wage increase. "There just has to be more jobs, more employment created," stressed Gruntman in response to an industry spokesman's exclamation that "the shorter work week is something that surprises us."

According to the officers of the Pulp and Paper Industrial Relations Board the union move towards a shorter work week to assure everyone the right to a job is "hopelessly uneconomic in B.C. today" and "would endanger the future of the industry." As if the unemployment that is plaguing pulp and paperworkers isn't "uneconomic" and doesn't "endanger" their and their families' present and future.

by Paul Kane

As the globe trembles under the increasing weight of the nuclear arms build-up, and a 53% majority of Canadians in a poll express their fear that World War III is "likely," Prime Minister Trudeau pushed the country into taking a qualitative leap into the nuclear arms drive.

Although only days earlier in Ottawa Trudeau had appeared to dissociate himself from U.S. President Reagan's deploy-now, negotiate-later stance in Europe, his External Affairs Minister MacEachern lined up solidly behind Washington to impell the heads of the NATO alliance into firming up their decision to deploy 572 U.S, Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in five West European countries before the years end. Nonetheless, responding to the mounting continental wide anti-war movement, Greece registered its outright refusal. While the defence minister of Denmark expressed his support, the Danish parliament demanded a continued delay in the placing of the missiles. The basis of Spain's reservations was revealed just ten days later, when 100,000 Spaniards marched through Madrid demanding an immediate referendum on their country's withdrawal from NATO and the removal of U.S. military bases from Spanish soil.

While the heads of state of three European NATO allies were compelled to forthrightly refuse missiles on their country's soil, only a fortnight later, after Trudeau announced the long anticipated receipt of a formal request from Washington to test the Cruise in Northern Alberta, his government permitted a non-confidence vote on the question. The motion submitted by the NDP read as follows: that the house "should express its opposition to the escalation of the nuclear arms race by any nation and in particular, its opposition to Canada's participation by testing in Canada any nuclear weapon or nuclear delivery vehicle such as and including the Cruise Missile." Only one Liberal, former cabinet minister Warren Allmand, along with four Progressive Conservatives, voted with the NDP which tallied 34 votes for, 213 against.

Uneasy that this fall will see the most massive anti-war actions yet, both here in Canada and across the globe, Defence Minister Gilles Lamontagne expressed his impatience with the NDP when forced to admit that low-angle radar testing for the Cruise was already underway on the Alberta site on the basis of an agreement with U.S. authorities back in 1979, signed when Ottawa was protesting innocence of any knowledge and Litton Industries operations here had already won a U.S. contract for the manufacture of a guidance system.

Lamontagne chastized NDP defence critic Terry Sargeant for being obsessed with the Cruise Missile. But it is just this developing obsession among the people, to which the NDP has given politieal expression, that has been instrumental in the phenomenal growth of the anti-war movement.

It is Trudeau's abject compliance to the U.S. State Department's efforts to entrap Canada into its perilous strategy in Central America and Europe that has fuelled the anti-war movement. And it is his fear of the popular response that caused him at Williamsburg, and in subsequent inspired interviews and open letters appearing in the mass media, to publicly dissociate his government from the Reagan administration's "approach to the Soviet Union" and its "pretty absurd" concept that a nuclear war can be won—and to, at the same time, warn both Thatcher and Reagan and his other co-leaders that "we're going to have to bust our bloody asses for peace" in order to overcome the widening perception that it is they who are threatening the world with nuclear destruction.

And now it is Trudeau's attempt to present the Cruise testing as an obligation of Canadian membership in the NATO-NORAD military alliances from which, if we don't want to comply, we should withdraw, that has posed this question too to the anti-war movement. It is through these agreements that the U.S. State Department has bound Canadian business interests to its militarization of the economy and its adventures in such countries as Nicaragua where Canadian manufactured arms

Continued on page 2

Go Left urges NDP Caucus

The Ontario NDP Left Caucus has responded to the draft manifesto that has been prepared and been circulated by the federal leadership with a counter manifesto of its own. It calls upon the party which will be in convention this July in Regina to respond to the horrendous impact that the developing capitalist crisis is having on the working class and in particular on the youth and women by raising once again, as it did at its founding fifty years ago, the banner of socialism.

At least six ridings in the Toronto area have endorsed the caucus manifesto and, as many again Ontario ridings outside of Toronto. It has been endorsed by the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship of Alberta and a growing list of prominent individuals including Ontario NDP MPPs Richard Johnston, Floyd Laughrin, Toronto Alderman Jack Layton, Kay Macpherson, and others.

While the federal leadership launched the discussion with its draft, it was received so negatively that it has withdrawn it and submitted a two or three page statement. David Tomczak informed a June 11 meeting of Toronto supporters of the Left caucus that some 30 activists in Saskatchewan have met and signified their support of the caucus manifesto. Now rumour has it that Saskatchewan NDP leader Blakeney and Alberta leader Notley are circulating their version of a statement of principles.

Work-sharing ploy vs shorter work week

by The Editors

According to the policy makers of the Liberal and Tory party machines it is the private sector, the capitalist entrepreneurs, who are to be counted upon to supply the juices necessary to revive the economy and provide jobs for the some 1.5 million Canadians it is now admitted desperately need them.

Even those figures released by Ottawa do not really reveal the plight of youth now blocked from even entering the work force and the frustration of women aspiring to get out of the low wage ghettos to which they have been assigned. According to David Wolfren of the Metro Toronto Planning Council, Stats Canada figures amount to a "statistical sleight of hand." They do not take into account hundreds of thousands who have now given up looking for work and those who have been compelled to take part-time work. The true number, he estimates is much closer to 2.4 million or 19.4%.

In the meantime the Liberal and Tory governments are doing everything they possible can to stimulate the economy into action, which, as they slyly admit means finding ways to stimulate capital's appetite for profits.

Risking popular indignation against "corporate welfare bums" they have been sluicing millions of dollars of public funds from the treasuries of provincial and federal governments into those of the insatiable giant monopolies. But obviously with little results for the jobless. Dozens of corporations have accepted government handouts but closed down their Canadian branch-plant operations notwithstanding. Others such as White's in Brantford remain closed pending corporate decision. While shares of Massey-Harris soar in value on the stock market scarcely a wheel turns in any of its factories and its Toronto plant is now slated for demolition. The number of one industry towns across the country that have become "ghost towns," multiplies.

They have even innovated such schemes as seductively labelled "Work Sharing"—a program to stave off layoffs from becoming partial plant closures and even complete shutdowns, which have great merit in the employers eyes also, for workers actually working

Continued on page 2

TYPESET BY UNION LABOR

forward

F49

EDITOR: Ross Dowson

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from *FORWARD* may be reprinted without fee as long as *FORWARD* is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to : Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5C 2K1.

"Obsessed with the Cruise"

Continued from page 1

have appeared in counter-revolutionaries' hands.

While the NDP is committed to Canadian withdrawal from NATO-NORAD it has not yet, as a party, brought this demand to the fore, just as it has shown little receptivity to voting against the military budget which now stands at $8.25 billion a year and which the government is preparing to expand considerably as it cuts back on an increasing number of critical social services.

Oppositon to the Cruise is the key issue around which the anti-war movement has been and can continue to be built. Bilateral and multilateral disarmament concerns direct the movement away from the areas of popular debate and action into the areas of decision completely dominated by the rulers of society and their hangers-on, transforming the popular forces into a movement desperately seeking points on **their** agends from where it might apply pressure for piecemeal concessions. The Cruise protest directs the struggle frontally against those here at home who are reponsible for Canadian involvement in politics that can only result in a nuclear holocaust—the Liberal-Tory parties of Big Business and their complicity with U.S. State Department policies—and leads the working people of Canada in struggle to decide things for themselves and in their own interests.

The anti-Cruise movement's response to Trudeau's statement that the decision on the Cruise specifically will be made as soon as practical, possibly before September, was clear and direct. Bert Keser of the Toronto Against Cruise Testing Coalition told the press: "They can expect one hell of a response" the first one with the mobilization this coming August 6—Hiroshima Day.

The test vote that Trudeau carried off among the MPs in the house on June 14 is so at variance with the visible popular will against the Cruise that preparations for a popular referendum on this question should be considered.

forward #49 Jun 1983

Freestanding clinic open

Ontario's first free standing abortion clinic opened this month in Toronto. "This whole thing wasn't Dr. Morgentaler's idea at all," according to Judy Rebick, a leading spokesperson for pro-clinic forces. About a year ago, as it became apparent that access to abortion was becoming increasingly difficult a small group set up the Committee for the Establishment of Abortion Clinics, and with the help of Dr. Morgentaler selected a staff. In the meantime The Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics was organized with the aim of rallying support around the clinic once it opened. A major breakthrough was the Ontario Federation of Labour's support.

At the June 11 meeting of the Toronto area conference of the Ontario Left Caucus of the New Democratic Party the following resolutions were passed: 1) In keeping with the long-standing policy of the ONDP for the right of women to chose a medically safe abortion we call on the parliamentary caucus to vigorously defend in public the right of women to have dignified access to the free standing clinics established by Dr. Henry Morgentaler in Toronto and in Winnipeg, and further 2) we urge that the caucus publicly campaign for the obligation of the appropriate minister of health to accredit the aforementioned free standing clinics under the hospital acts of their respective provinces.

Clinic spokesperson Rebick

Caucus hits Expulsions

The Toronto area supporters of the Left Caucus, along with preparations for the coming federal NDP convention, discussed recent expulsions from the Ontario NDP. The resolution presented by Gordon Doctorow (Oriole) was adopted. It reads as follows:

Whereas organizational measures against fellow NDPers tend to disrupt and violate the process of settling political differences through democratic debate, through the defining of ideas, and through the sustaining of the will of the majority; and whereas the recent expulsion of two members of the Ontario NDP who hold membership in the Revolutionary Workers League tends to set up a dangerous atmosphere in the party that could develop into a political witchhunt.

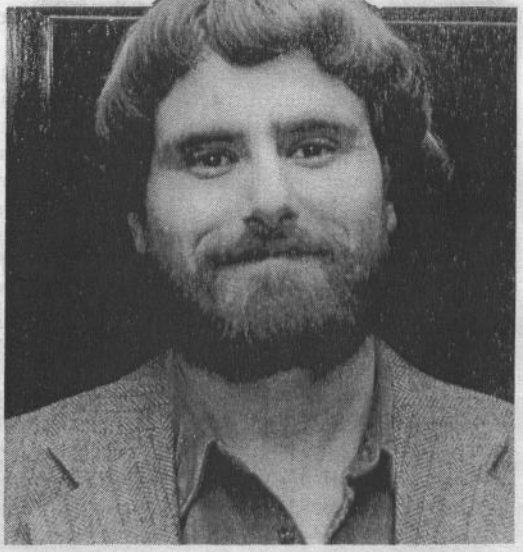
Therefore be it resolved that this Toronto conference of Left Caucus supporters 1. declare its opposition to the recent expulsions by the provincial council at its March 14 meeting as did our previous meeting of Ontario-wide left cacus supporters, without discernible dissent, and 2. make known to anyone concerned that it disapproves of actions by any persons who might be identified with the Left Cacus if such actions in any way could be seen to be in support of the expulsions.

(Found in 1983)

ON NOVEMBER 26, NOMINATE

DALE RITCH

CANDIDATE DOVERCOURT NDP



Dear Brothers and Sisters;

I am seeking your support for the nomination on November 26 so that I can run as the NDP candidate in Dovercourt in the next provincial election. This election is coming at a crucial time in the development of our party and in the development of our society. Never has the need for a democratic, socialist party to assume power in Ontario been so great. Never have economic and social conditions for such a victory been so favourable. Yet our party, the NDP is no closer to power than it was 20 years ago.

In recent years our party has moved toward the political centre, moderated its policies and image in a vain attempt to win the votes of professional and small-business layers. Meanwhile, polls demonstrate that the majority of working people vote either Liberal or Tory or stay at home. The party in the process has been reduced to a weak electoral machine that's primarily engaged in marketing our leaders as mass media commodities. Riding associations which should be the life-blood of our party are encouraged to do nothing more than fund raising and membership renewal work. Up to 85% of revenue is drained out of the ridings and even membership work is now being done centrally by computer.

I would like to offer an alternative strategy, an alternative which I have been arguing for and organizing for ever since I got involved in Dovercourt in 1976 and which I would continue to carry out as the Member of Parliament for Dovercourt.

A COMMUNITY ALTERNATIVE

This alternative I am talking about is based on the community where we live and work, socialize, study, relax and worship. The strength of the NDP rests at the community level and it is here that we must begin to focus the greater part of our attention if we are to form a government in Ontario. The legislature at Queen's Park offers us an important platform to put forward our socialist ideas and policies and to attack the growing weaknesses and limitations of capitalist society but the NDP in reality is powerless there. The current monopoly of power rests firmly in the hands of the big business parties of the Liberals and Tories and so will remain at least for the foreseeable future.

Our party must begin to see that by involving ourselves in community and workplace struggles for a better society we are creating the conditions for the NDP to be transformed into a powerful social movement, a movement which represents and fights for the needs and

interests of working people and other oppressed layers of society.

Our politics must centre on the workplace and on public institutions such as schools, libraries, recreation centres, daycare centres, legal clinics etc. We must be involved in organizing the community into trade unions, tenants' associations, residents' associations, sports clubs, parent-teacher groups, health clinics and any other activity which can unite working people together so that they can begin to exercise their power.

A SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

Ontario has been hit hard by the economic recession which continues to undermine the social fabric of the western capitalist countries and the third world. Tens of thousands of high-paying industrial jobs have disappeared forever from Ontario factories. Wages are declining and people living on fixed incomes, pensioners, single-parent mothers and injured workers, are seeing their incomes falling below the poverty level. Governments are freezing the wages of their civil servants and cutting back on all kinds of social services meanwhile increasing handouts to their big business supporters. Many youth are facing the prospect of never finding a decent job. Home ownership is a fading dream for hundreds of thousands of Toronto tenants while working-class homeowners are threatened with escalating property taxes and maintenance costs.

The environment is threatened as never before. Dioxin slowly poisons the water supply, acid rain is killing the lakes and Toronto beaches are closed down by fecal contamination from a deteriorating sewer system.

Regan, the militaristic American President threatens the world with nuclear destruction and sends American troops into Grenada, Honduras, Lebanon and wherever else people are fighting to free themselves from exploitation by the American-led multi-national corporations.

What we are faced with is nothing less than the impending collapse of our entire socio-economic system. We are in the midst of a classical crisis of overproduction called a depression. Millions are laid off in North America and Europe while factories run at half-speed or are shut down because working people don't have the money to buy the goods they produce. Protectionism and tariff barriers are increasing, posing another world-wide trade war. Huge debt burdens in third world countries could result in a chain of insolvencies that would bankrupt the entire financial system.

There is only one direction for the NDP to move in if we are to survive this crisis. We must return to the solutions advocated by the pioneers of our movement, the men and women who built the CCF in the last great depression in the 1930's. The NDP must embrace the concept that only through a radical transformation of the entire social and economic system can we begin to solve the problems confronting us. In the words of the Regina Manifesto, "No CCF government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

THE UPCOMING ELECTION

Maintaining Dovercourt as an NDP seat in the next provincial election will not be an easy task. We won by only 200 votes in 1981 with the unsolicited assistance of 'our' Liberal candidate Vince Correiro. Many of our traditional supporters in the Italian community have left the riding. Our chief competition in Dovercourt, the Liberals, shows no sign of disappearing from the scene and is still the opposition party in the legislature. However, I believe that it is possible for us to hold on to the seat with the right candidate, the right policies and the right activities.

THE ISSUES THAT ARE THE KEY TO DOVERCOURT

PROPERTY TAXES: Dovercourt is largely a riding of working class homeowners. Property taxes have been rising at a rate greater than inflation while wages and incomes are frozen. Market Value Assessment is being gradually introduced by selective reassessments num-

bering in the hundreds in Dovercourt in the last two years. Property taxpayers are fed up and are ready for a tax 'revolt'. The NDP municipal party has developed a position which points in the right direction. This position calls for the abolition of property taxes on principal residences and its replacement by a fixed percentage of the progressive and corporate income taxes levied by the provincial government. A thorough reform of the provincial tax system would also be necessary to eliminate the many loopholes and deductions which favour large corporations and the rich. The NDP must emphasize that the **Right to Home Ownership is a basic human right.**

EDUCATION — Heritage Language — Thanks to the NDP-led Toronto Board of Education, several integrated-day Heritage Language programs have been established in Dovercourt area schools. However, teacher unions have opposed the program because it has been necessary to extend the school day as the provincial government has refused to allow the program to be taught in the regular school day. **An NDP government would bring in legislation to allow teaching of the programmes in the regular school day.**

SERP and OSIS — The Tories have recently introduced changes in the secondary school curriculum which would introduce more compulsory credits and increase the number of credits required for a graduation diploma. Eventually, post-secondary candidates would have to finish high school in four years instead of five. The effect would be to push more working-class students into general level programs and out of the post-secondary stream. **These reforms must be dropped immediately.**

DOME STADIUM — The government wants to spend over $500 million of taxpayers' money to build a 'bread and circus' professional sports complex at the CNE. This project besides being a total waste of money would bring much more traffic congestion into the south end of the riding and damage the communities there. The NDP should be saying loud and clear; **Not one cent of public money on the Dome.**

TENANTS' RIGHTS — Dovercourt has a large high-rise residential community in the southern Parkdale area and at Dover Square near Bloor and Dovercourt. Maintenance of rent controls is an important priority for those tenants. Establishment of a rent registry and of tenants' unions in as many buildings as possible will enable tenants to get a better deal. The 6% limit for rent review should be a ceiling, not a floor for rent increases.

RUNAWAY PLANTS — Recent years have seen thousands of high-paying, industrial jobs flee the west end of Toronto to anti-union environments outside of Metro. Closings and layoffs at Canada Packers, Massey-Ferguson, General Electric and John Inglis are some of the publicized examples. The provincial government must be prepared to force manufacturing companies to keep jobs in the City — by putting them under public ownership if necessary.

MEDICARE — The Tories have threatened the basis of the medicare system by allowing doctors to opt-out and extra-bill, by user charges for chronic-care facilities and by large increases in medicare premiums. An NDP government would reverse this pattern by banning extra-billing, and by abolishing user fees and OHIP premiums. There is no place for private-enterprise profit-taking in the health care industry! **Private ownership of nursing homes must be ended immediately.**

WORKERS' COMPENSATION — Hundreds of injured workers live in Dovercourt, existing on meagre pensions and denied an opportunity to work at jobs they are capable of and wanting to do. Meanwhile, the government is going ahead with implementation of changes to the Workmen's Compensation Act drafted by Paul Weiler which would worsen the situation for injured workers. What is needed is a **comprehensive, universal social insurance scheme in the province of Ontario.**

WOMEN'S RIGHTS — Legislation would be enacted by an NDP government to stipulate that women receive **Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value.** In order to guarantee Freedom of Choice for women in Ontario, clinics such as the Toronto Abortion Clinic on Harbord St.

should be licensed as accredited hospitals. Day care facilities are few and far between in Dovercourt. More full-service, community-controlled childcare centres must be established. **Every school in Dovercourt should have a childcare facility.**

NO NUKES —Ontario should be a nuclear-free zone, with no production, transport or use of nuclear weapons. The Ontario government should tell Trudeau to Refuse the Cruise. **Darlington should be returned to pasture.**

WAGE CONTROLS—The Ontario government must scrap its wage controls legislation and return to free collective bargaining. **The NDP must mobilize full support for the B.C. labour movement's general strike against Bennett.**

BUILD THE NDP IN DOVERCOURT

If nominated, I pledge to continue my organizing activities in the community and for the NDP. I will continue to support the riding association financially and organizationally and I intend to be fully accountable to the NDP membership. I am looking forward to serving the community and the NDP in the struggle for a socialist Ontario.

Fraternally,

Vicki Pitt

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

I am 35 years of age, born in Noranda, Quebec and have lived most of my life in the west end of Metro Toronto. I attended elementary and high school in North York and studied at both York University, where I served a year as student council President, and at University of Toronto. Currently, I am working as a cameraman at Action Print and am a member of the Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91.

NDP INVOLVEMENT

My first political involvement was in the anti-war movement starting in 1968 when I was already an NDP supporter. I joined the party in 1972 and became a Dovercourt member in 1976. My involvement on the Dovercourt Riding Association Executive began in 1977. In 1981, I was President of the Riding and Provincial Council Delegate in 1982. At the present time I am also a member of the Ward 3 NDP Executive and the Vice-President of Trinity Federal Riding Association.

ELECTION EXPERIENCE

Canvassing experience includes campaigns working for Joe Pantalone (municipally 1976), Tony Lupusella (provincially 1977 & 1981), Doug Little (federally 1979), Dan Heap (federally 1982). Organizing experience includes campaigns for Joe Pantalone (1978 & 1979), Manuel Azevedo (federally 1979 & 1980), Sheila Meagher (trustee by-election 1981) and Tony Silipo (trustee 1980). In the 1982 Tony Silipo-Sharon Barkley trustee campaign I was campaign manager.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

I have lived in Dovercourt for almost all of the past ten years and now reside at 295 Delaware Ave. I have been involved in re-organizing the Dovercourt Park Area Residents' Association and am President of that organization. I am also a member of the advisory council at Wallace-Emerson Community Centre and have been active there for the past three years. Other activities include participation in the Friends of Gladstone Library and acting as secretary-treasurer of the Ward 3 Sesquecentennial Committee.

DOVERCOURT NDP NOMINATION

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26

2:00 p.m.

LABOURERS' 183 UNION HALL

1136 DUPONT ST. [just east of Dufferin St.]

If you need a ride, contact Dale at 537-5805 or Bruno at 534-1087

Feminist Pat Schulz, 49, fought for improved day-care facilities

Obituaries DEC. 15, 1983

Patricia Vandebelt Schulz, feminist and day-care activist, has died after a 12-year struggle with cancer. She was 49.

Schulz, who died Monday, was "one of the unsung heroines of the women's movement in Canada," said Schulz's close friend, Catherine Macleod, executive director of the Guild of Canadian Playwrights.

"She did more for the cause of women's rights than anyone I can think of, especially in the area of day care," Macleod added.

A self-described socialist, Pat Schulz worked as a primary school teacher after graduating from university in the 1950s.

She returned to the University of Toronto at 36 to earn a master's degree in history, and later taught early childhood education at Centennial College.

Schulz's 15-year-old daughter, Kathy, said her mother's experiences as a single parent fuelled her interest in the campaign for better day-care facilities.

Schulz helped build Action Day Care.

She also worked with the Ontario Coalition for Better Day Care, a group established two years ago under the auspices of the Ontario Federation of Labor.

Evelyn McKee, supervisor of a Toronto day-care centre and member of the board of Action Day Care, recalls Schulz as "a tremendous feminist and a hard worker for social action in many areas.

Schulz

"She believed very strongly in the women's movement, although the issue of day care was her primary focus."

Schulz was an accomplished speaker and a published writer on Canadian history and women's issues.

In 1980, she wrote an article for The Star about some of the problems she faced as a cancer patient.

Macleod and Lorraine Segato, are producing a film — One Woman, Many Women: Pat Schulz, Feminist — that examines two decades of the women's movement, as seen through the eyes of Schulz, an active participant.

A private funeral is to be held tonight, and a memorial service will be held at 2 p.m. Jan. 7 at the William Speers Funeral Chapel, 2926 Dundas St. W.

Management of the fund

The monies collected will be held in trust in a designated savings account. There will be four trustess who will be responsible for the care of these monies. These trustees are Sandra Stienecker, Peter Tabuns, Jane Bertrand and Evelyn McKee. In the event of the resignation or death of any one of the trustees, the remaining three will appoint a new trustee. The fund is a registered charitable organization.

The monies collected in this fund will be kept in an interest-bearing state for a period up to five years. During this time any community group that has the Neighbourhood Resource Centre (hub model) as its goal and can satisfy the trustees of its commitment to a non-profit, parent-staff board model and whose ultimate goal is free, universal, accessible day care, may apply for funding.

If at the end of five years no group that thus satisfies the trustees has applied for these monies, the fund will be set up as an on-going scholarship in the name of Pat Schulz. The scholarship would be awarded each year to any student in Ontario in her/his final year of Early Childhood Education who has a strong interest in the concept of free, universal, accessible day care as a goal for Ontario.

Donation

I/my organization will make a tax deductible donation for the Pat Schulz Fund:

☐ $100 ☐ $50 ☐ $10 ☐ other

Name _____

Address _____

Mail to: P.O. Box 265, Station G, Toronto, Ontario M4M 3G7

Pat Schulz — 1986 ✓ Memorial Fund

— to establish a neighbourhood resource centre for children and their families —

Pat Schulz Memorial Fund

This fund is established to honour the memory of Patricia Vanderbelt Schulz. Pat once described herself as "a single mother, a feminist, a small time historian, a socialist, a day care activist, a co-op member — a lot of people."

More useful, perhaps, is the picture of Pat as a truly unusual human being. Each day of her life she grew in her awareness and taught us all one thing: true health lies in our ability to bring together each part of our divided feelings — of personal commitment, of social consciousness and of political awareness — into an uncompromising recognition of the wholeness of living.

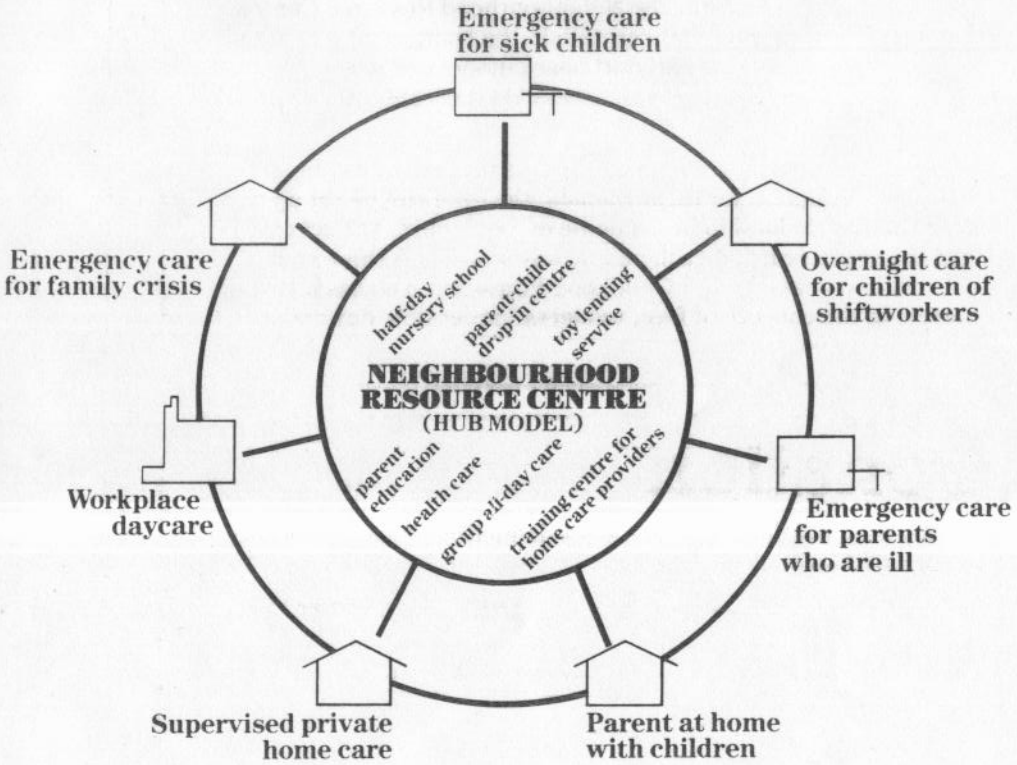
The lives of all of us who knew her and worked with her were changed, our visions challenged, our commitment strengthened and our sense of justice for women and their families sharpened for having lived, worked and dreamed beside this woman who was "a lot of people."

The Pat Schulz Memorial Trust Fund will be used for the development of a Neighborhood Resource Centre to be named in her honour. It must represent the strength of a community serving the needs of children and their families with the comprehensive, ongoing and active thrust Pat saw as the nature of a genuine commitment to children and their world.

The Neighbourhood Resource Centre

Hub Model:

To develop a well-co-ordinated system of community-based care, governments should encourage the development of neighbourhood resource centres (hub models) in larger municipalities. Through this structure, a wide variety of program types could be delivered and made accessible.



QWL---1

Found in 1983 (not published)

Union militants are going to have to pay increased attention to more sophisticated and insidious efforts than is usual promoting the concept that, all evidence to the contrary, the interests of the workers and the employers are essentially the same. This run is glossed up as "Quality of Working Life." It is currently being staged at 22 projects at various factories in Ontario. In an attempt to appear impartial, rather than being financed by the owners, the projects are financed from public funds with a budget of $900,000. They are under the guidance, not of the Ministry of Labour, but of the Ontario Tory cabinet.

The Ontario Quality of Working Life Center provides consultants and researchers. With the agreement of the company and with the agreement of the union, or at least with the acquiesence of a group of workers in a select section of the shop, there is what is called a Cooperative Decision Making Process set up parallel and presumably in peaceful coexistence with such union structures as the stewards body and the grievance committee. In some cases groups of workers are sent off to weekly

training sessions of five weeks at full pay, and assigned to teams with the proclaimed aim of giving the workers more control (independence from bosses) and of overcoming alienation through more identity with the quality of the goods produced and the conditions under which they are produced.

That the chairman of the board of Canadian General Electric, the president of Algoma Steel, and the President of General Foods are among the five business representatives on the center's 10-man advisory committee only show how useful to their ends Capital sees QWL. But suprising are the five representatives of Labour: Sean O'Flynn of the Public Service Employees, Bob White of Auto, Cliff Pilkey of the OFL, Fred Pomeroy of the Communication Workers and Dave Patterson of Steel. They are generally conceived as being among the more principled and more agressive of the country's trade union leaders.

Fortunately we are not compelled to stand on theory, on labour's earlier experiences which might be dismissed as being irrelevant to our times, in order to understand essentially the union-busting role of the Quality of Working Life Center operations.

Last year Humber College published a study, Unionists

and "Quality of Working Life" Programs - changing labor-management relations in these hard times, by D.A. Wells, subtitled The Beginning of union education and strategy around QWL issues particularly at the local level. The author acknowledges the aid of over 200 workers in two plants for helping him understand their experiences with QWL.

O'Flynn, Patterson and the others should examine these case studies, and drawing the inescapable conclusion resign from the QWL Center immediately.

-# $ % & # "

missing=2 (2)

Glace Bay---2

Found in 1983 - page 1 missing (not published)

By the end of 1982 the CMWU succeeded in signing up 52% of the bargaining unit. But when the formal vote was held shortly after, it polled only 44% of the ballots. Having come so close, the CMWU announced that they would again challenge the UMW certification.

To head the CMWU off, UMW international President Richard Trumka decided to get rid of "loser" Holland and his executive and to introduce new voting rules for District 26 members. The Washington machine suddenly decided that pensioned members (retirees) should have full voting rights, including the right to hold office. On the other hand, charging the local leadership with abuse of office, it removed them from their posts and placed the local under trusteeship.

The international had precedence for its bureaucratic intervention. Back in 1922 when a District 26 convention declared that a settlement of a 7 month-long strike against wage cutbacks that had been imposed upon them was null and void, the then international president, John L. Lewis, put it under trusteeship. While the miners strike in solidarity with the Sydney steelworkers were confronted by the government's armed militia, Lewis condemned them

for violating the existing contract, and ordered them back to work. District 26's president at the time, the revered revolutionary socialist J.B. McLachlan, repudiated Lewis as having no "authority to prohibit workers in Canada from waging a political struggle against the use of armed forces." McLachlan was jailed for four months in Dorchester Penitentiary.

~~The newly elected Wilson~~ Trumka's lifting of his trusteeship and the new elections witnessed the return of retiree John Jake Campbell who had contested the presidency in 1970 and in 1974. Campbell is now president, having defeated two other candidates, one of whom had backed the Washington-appointed trustees . October saw a wild cat strike against Devco by the government-appointed adminstrators, the suspensions of 7 miners which spread to all six oprrations and involved 3,200 workers. The deposed Raymond Holland has now come out in support of the CMWU .

The effect of these latest developments on the outcome of the certification vote would seem favorable to the CMWU. Should it win certification at Devco, The Confederation of Canadian Union forces will have the base where they will be tested militants. to prove themselves as effective union It can be the real breakthrough for the CCU.

— 30 —

Mulroney------1 (Edited by R.D.) Found in 1983 - unpublished

What are the working peo le tp expect from the Progress-
ive Conservative Party as it takes over the government apparatus and
works at consolidating its massive electoral victory over the batt-
ered and demoralized Liberal party machine? What does its election
mean for the plans of the capitalist rulers of the North American
continent already joyously anticipating victory for Ronald Reagan ?
With the Progressive Conservatives at the helm, is Canada well along
the way to becoming "Reagan North "? Are we headed into a period of
government assault on human and civil rights and cutbacks and repeal
of the social legislation that has been won at such cost over the years by
the efforts of the trade unions and the NDP and predeccor movements?

But
the simple facts are that the Mulroney government
~~not only~~ has no mandate at all from the Canadian people to move in that
direction, didn't even seek such a mandate to do so, and even now
with an overwhelming majority in the house, shows no real predilec-
tion to move in that direction. During the election contest all three
major parties, and it was the Liberals, not the Tories who had to hastily
change direction in midstream, appeared as parties, not of cutbacks and
austerity but of liberal social reform (continued)

It is generally conceeded that a mandate that Mulroney does have, coming out of this highly de-politicized election campaign, is certainly for change. But not in direction (policy and not in) . Only in the directorate, away from what he has depicted as Trudeau's manipulative and confrontationist politics, to a new politics of consensus and conciliation. What Mulroney is working towards is the realization of a fundamental realignment of political forces. From identification of his party with conciliation and consensus he is projecting his government, no less, as a government through which reconciliation in and of conflicts in Canada are to be achieved x

The view that the Progressive Conservative party is not a party like the Liberals, even when it is conceded that both are parties of capital, even "Bobsey twins of Bay Street", as Broadbent so aptly characterized them, but is the party of the "right" is a widely held one. This illusion has not only been seduously promoted by the Liberals themselves but a wide spectrum of "popular front" opinion reaching into the NDP and into the tiny Stalinized Communist Party which circulated warnings of the danger from the "right" and urging a coalition that would encompass themselves, the NDP and progressives to be found in the Liberal party - an underlying theme and key component of their peaceful co-existence doctrine since the mid-Thirties.

With this crude misunderstanding of reality, a whole series of actions (by the Mulroney leadership, during the election campaign and since, are incomprehensible.

Having effectively silenced the mavericks who as a minority opposition party they had more than their share of and tolerated, they have rewarded from the highly unusual pattern of appointments Liberals to high office, and even more have attracted, no doubt with appropriate understandings, such known and articulate opponents of PC views to high profile public positions as Stephen Lewis and Donald Roche. Not Reaganite confrontation but Mulroneyite consensus and conciliation is the order of the day. With the Mulroneys and his advisers out to completely reshape political alignments across the country x That these appointments are not temporary aberrations but are the direction of things and flow from a whole new and bold political strategy is posed by a posh government-sponsored seminar held in Ottawa on October 25 - on players and priorities of the new government. Sharing the platform with top policy advisors of the Prime Minister and former PC Prime Minister Clarke, was retiring NDP federal secretary Gerald Caplan. Caplan was given the opportunity to affirm, with the authority of Mulroney himself, that government rejects publicly and out-of-hand recent proposals by such authoritative voices of Big Business, the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, that the government should cut back on unemployment insurance, minimum

wage and health and safety legislation. Such"a lynch law approach to the welfare state wont fly in this coutry" shows no understanding of Brian Mulroney, and risksmissing an opportunity for a new consensus, declared Caplan the NDP leader. He assured his audience that Mr. Mulroney wants that consensus and wants "my side to be part of it."

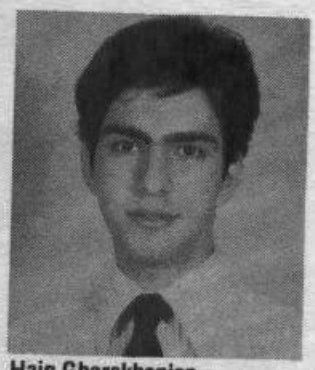
Mulroney and his advisors need time. They need to develop a firm P.C. party structure under the massive gains they carved out of the Liberal party, particularly in the key province of Quebec, where it is highly volatile and was partially won and lost again by the Clarke leadership. They would like to co-opt and eliminate the wobblying Liberal party. The PC's hope that the NDP can be put on hold until another day.

This could be partially realized if Mulroney and lieutanants can direct the NDP to concentrate its fire awayfrom them (and at the Liberals in a futile contest to establish itself, rather than the Liberals, the as the "real" opposition. Besides, softening up the NDP with some high profile concessions and fostering illusions of national conciliation-class collaboration, makes the NDP highly vulnerable to the charge that they are not an alternative but just an appendage of the Liberals. And it has the further function of undermining the fighting working class unity and spirit that is necessary to build up in a party of struggle capable of establishing a socialist society in Canada and America.

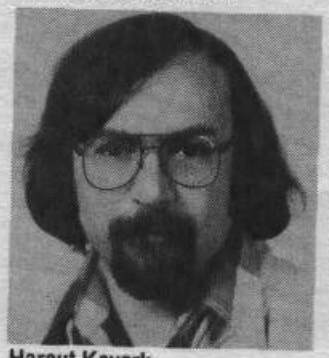
Forward Group 1984

Free the four Armenian Activists

Melkon Gharakhanian



Haig Gharakhanian



Harout Kevork

Raffic Balian

Four Armenian residents of Toronto have had the full brute force of the Canadian state come down on them. In what the *Ottawa Citizen* described as "a security blanket never before seen in a local court," the four were arraigned March 12 on charges of attempting to murder and conspiracy to murder Turkish commercial counsellor Kani Gungor in April 1982.

Police gave few details but claimed the arrests followed a long investigation spanning North America and Europe and involving Interpol.

The accused, Harout Kevork, Raffic Balian, and Haig and Melkon Gharakhanian, were first arrested in May 1982, and charged with various counts of conspiracy and extortion. While the media made a sensationalist link between them and terrorists, they were not charged with any terrorist acts. Held without bail for 112 days, all were released after an eight-week preliminary hearing resulting in a number of charges being dropped.

External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen fanned the flames of prejudice against the accused following their latest arrest by warning federal employees abroad to "exercise some caution and vigilence." He said, "I think it has been made clear by terrorists themselves that they wouldn't look very kindly on countries which arrested any of their membership who might be accused of terrorist acts."

He failed to note that two years of harassment of the four has brought no retaliation.

Armenians around the world for decades have attempted to expose the still-denied Turkist slaughter of over a million Armenians and to regain their homeland, currently partitioned between NATO-member Turkey and the USSR.

The magazine *Azad Hay* (Free Armenian), published by one of the accused, has campaigned for a unified, socialist Armenia for years. It has never advocated terrorism.

The re-arrests of these left-wing activists two years after the event for which they are charged is highly suspect. Ottawa has obviously been under some pressure from its NATO ally Turkey to nail someone.

Earlier this year Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan admitted in the House of Commons that nearly $1 million already has been spent to combat 'Armenian terrorism' in Canada. He neglected to mention that this includes a massive wiretap operation and hundreds of visits to homes and workplaces of innocent Armenians.

This wave of harassment and intimidation meted out by local and federal police represents a grave threat to the civil liberties of everyone.

The MacDonald Royal Commission into the RCMP exposed the many illegal activities of the force's Security Service (mail openings, theft, arson, spying and acts of provocation) aimed at the left and the labour movement.

Now, with the new Bill C-9, the federal government seeks to make the illegal — legal!

Harassment of the Armenian community, and persecution of the four activists, helps pave the way to more political repression. Those who support struggles for social justice abroad would be easily targetted.

Defenders of democratic rights must act now to stop it.

Start by demanding that the four Armenian activists be freed!

Drop the charges! Free the Armenian Activists!

Petition to: Hon. Roy McMurtry, Attorney-General of Ontario

Whereas: The arrest and detention on March 12, 1984 of Harout Kevork, Raffic Balian, and Haig and Melkon Gharakhanian on charges of attempted murder and conspiracy to commit murder is a politically motivated frame-up designed to appease the right wing regime in Turkey — Canada's NATO ally — over the shooting of its commercial counsellor Kani Gungor on April 8, 1982 in Ottawa;

And whereas: The four Armenians are being held without bail solely on the strength of the statement of a secret informer;

And whereas: The government, police and courts have subjected the four Armenian activists (who are *not* advocates of terrorism) to nearly two years of harassment and legal prosecution, and have yet to convict any of them on conspiracy to commit extortion charges launched in May, 1982, or of any wrongdoing — but continue the surveillance, intimidation and harassment aimed at the four, and Armenian nationalists generally, for political reasons;

We, the undersigned, therefore demand:

1. That all charges against the four Armenian activists be dropped.
2. That the police campaign of harassment and intimidation of the Armenian community, and specifically of Armenian political activists in connection with their legal political activities, cease immediately, with full public disclosure of the nature, scope and results of this repressive exercise, and those responsible for it.
3. Compensation for wrongful detention of the four Armenian activists.

Name *Address* (include postal code) *Phone*

1. _____

2. _____

Join the growing list of endorsers of the petition*

Ralph Schoenman, Director, Committee in Defense of Palestinian and Lebanese Peoples; former director, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
David Zargarian, Society of Armenian University Students
Rosario Marchese, trustee Ward 4, Toronto Board of Education
John Friesen, New Democratic Party federal candidate, High Park-Parkdale
Judy Rebick, spokesperson, Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics
Peter Warrian, Executive Assistant to President, Ontario Public Service Employees Union
Lennie Fleary, former honourary vice-consul, Grenada, West Indies
Charles Roach, civil liberties and immigration lawyer, Toronto
Barry Weisleder, President Local 595, OPSEU
Dale Ritch, Local 91, Toronto Typographical Union
Chris Huxley, Associate Professor, Trent University
Bob Chandler, Natalie LaRoche, Public Service Alliance of Canada
Gary Kinsman, Gays and Lesbians Against the Right Everywhere (GLARE)
Marion Pollack, Shop Steward, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver
Richard Yampolski, Toronto Union of Unemployed Workers
Robert Adam, NDP MTAC Youth Committee Chairperson
Owen Leach, municipal affairs activist
Judith Penfold, chairperson, Parkdale Action Committee Against Racism
Ronnie Leah, Sociology, Brock University
Mordecai Briemberg, educator, Burnaby, B.C.
Joe Flexer, Shop Steward, Local 124, United Auto Workers
John Leggett, Labour Studies Programme, Rutgers University
Louis Feldhammer, lecturer, Ryerson Institute
Thom Gilchrist, member Board of Directors, Parkdale Community Legal Services
Harout Darakjian, jeweller
Bob Davis, Canadian Action for Nicaragua

***[Organizations listed for identification purposes only.]**

K.R. D. note

What is the Armenian Question?

The Armenian people, a living link with one of the world's most ancient civilizations, are the survivors of holocaust, dispossession and continuous turmoil. Like the Palestinians, they lost a major part of their historic homeland and were sent into an exile of global dimensions.

Armenians were the victims of brutal massacres unleashed by the rulers of Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, culminating in the April 1915 genocide of up to 1.5 million. The slaughter of the Armenians was cited by Nazi dictator Adolph Hitler when contemplating his 'final solution' for the Jews — but the fact that it occurred is denied to this day by Turkist authorities!

The forced evacuation of the survivors of holocaust in northeastern Turkey led to the establishment of large Armenian enclaves in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and other countries of the Middle East. (Some four million live today in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and neighbouring republics in the Soviet Union.) Since their dispersal, Armenians have been caught up in the cycle of anti-imperialist struggles launched by Arab peoples, and the fierce-some repression rained down upon them by regimes loyal to western interests.

But for the past few years, a new situation has been unfolding. Armenian workers and youth are breaking from their confinement in the pro-imperialist, 'Christian' camp, and are crossing over to the side of the Arab and Moslem masses struggling against imperialist domination and local reaction.

After sixty years of pleading before the great powers, and maintaining the passivity of their people, the Armenian traditional political parties are giving way to new revolutionary forces that have won world attention to the demands of the Armenians.

Such developments are the subject of discussion and controversy throughout the Armenian Diaspora. But there is no dispute among Armenians concerning their position as an oppressed nationality deprived of a united homeland. Armenians demand their right to national self-determination. They also demand recognition by the Turkish state of the 1915 genocide, along with reparations.

That too is the stance of the four imprisoned Armenian activists.

Who are

The Gharakhanian brothers, Melkon 22, and Haig 19, were born and raised in Tehran, Iran. Melkon left Iran for Canada in 1977 to continue his education. Two years later he was joined by his brother Haig.

Both attended Oakwood Collegiate Institute.

After obtaining his grade 13 diploma, Melkon entered the University of Toronto to study economics and sociology while Haig continued his studies at Oakwood.

Shortly before his parents moved to Canada, Melkon married in 1981.

In 1983, while studying philosophy part-time at York University, he undertook the management of a convenience store in North York. Melkon, with Haig as his assistant manager, ran this business successfully until their arrest in March, 1984.

Harout Kevork, an economist, poet, writer and newspaper editor, was born in Lebanon in 1945. After finishing secondary school he entered the American University of Lebanon to study economics.

the 'four'?

Upon obtaining his degree, Harout taught at a secondary school in Beirut until he moved to Canada in 1973 where he married in the following year.

Father of a seven year old daughter, he has worked in Canada as an accountant and has written booklets on the modern history of Armenians in the Middle East. He published a monthly magazine called *Azad Hay* (Free Armenian).

Raffic Balian, 28, was born and raised in Lebanon where he completed secondary school. He then assisted his father in the family business until 1976 when he moved to Canada.

Married in Toronto, and now the father of two children, ages three and five, he worked as an auto salesman for four years.

For the past year Raffic ran his modest clothing alterations store in downtown Toronto, until his recent arrest.

Prior to his first arrest two years ago, Raffic worked as a service mechanic for the Toronto Transit Commission.

What the Judge said

After an eight-week preliminary hearing into charges of conspiracy to commit extortion against the four Armenian activists, Judge E.G. Hachborn, Provincial Court, District of York, wrote the following in his "Reasons for Judgement", September 9, 1982:

"That the Crown has argued that the material found at the home of Harout Kevork shows that he is the publisher or editor or a contributor, or all of these, to the magazine, 'Azod Hye' (sic) *which is said to be the official organ of the ASALA* (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia). *This is not so* but even if it were so, that does not further the Crown's case and make Harout Kevork a party to the two conspiracies alleged. The Crown does not have any evidence which ties activities on behalf of ASALA into being a party to the two conspiracies."

"*It is not an offence in Canada* to be a member of ASALA, to be a supporter of ASALA, to advocate and promulgate the political rationale behind ASALA or *to advocate any particular solution to the 'Armenian Problem'.*"
(Emphasis added.)

Committee in Defence of Armenian Political Prisoners

The Committee In Defense of Armenian Political Prisoners (CIDAPP) is an open, democratic body composed of individuals dedicated to the defense of the civil liberties of Armenian political activists suffering political harassment and repression.

Initiated in response to the March 12, 1984 arrest and detention, without bail, of four Armenian activists in Toronto, the committee seeks to expose the utter injustice of the charges against the four and the ongoing anti-democratic campaign of surveillance, intimidation and harassment aimed at the Armenian community in Canada.

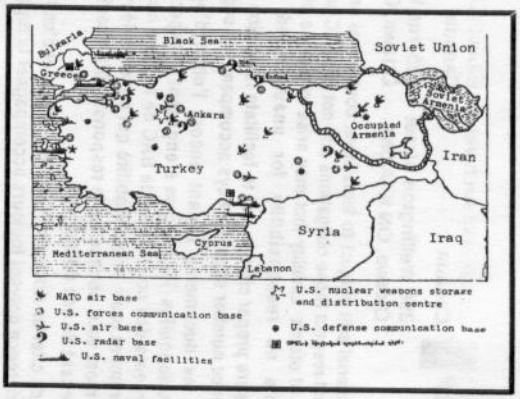
Specifically, the CIDAPP demands that the charges against the four be dropped and that they be freed. To that end, the committee will produce educational materials and hold events designed to publicize the facts and to attract public support — particularly financial support.

The four accused, their families and friends, have been nearly bankrupted by over two years of legal proceedings. A good legal defense is extremely costly. At stake are the lives of four innocent individuals. And *your* rights are at stake too.

To win justice, a broad public movement will be required — and building a movement will also cost money.

Please give generously. Cheques should be made out to: *Committee In Defense of Armenian Political Prisoners (CIDAPP).*

Forward all contributions to: *P.O. Box 456, Station Z, Toronto, Ontario.*



(Found in 1984)

An exchange of views on:

The NDP as Canada's Anti-war Party

- **A nuclear arms-free country, not party to any Big Power military alliance**
- **No overflights or military bases in Canada—no Canadian forces on other shores**
- **No to the arms drive. Canada out of the arms trade, scrap the military budget, scale down conventional forces**

Featuring:

Phil Jones, president on ONDP York West

Harry Paine, co-chair of ONDP Anti-war Committee

. . . and a discussion open to all

Where and When:

Wednesday, March 25 7:30 p.m.

Bloor Collegiate Auditorium

1141 Bloor St. W.,
(steps from Dufferin Subway Station)

Coming up April 29, same time, same place:

The Scourge of plant closures & layoffs—What's to be done!

Auspices of the Ontario NDP Left Caucus
(further information-58 Ashburnham Rd., Toronto M6H 2K3

Join Peace Petition Campaign

The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign, with its central opposition to the testing of the Cruise Missile in Northern Canada, which is Ottawa's contribution to the perilous escalation of nuclear arms, is well under way. It will be officially launched on March 15 from a central location in Toronto in the presence of an impressive gathering of prominent persons representative of the most vital movements and forces in the country.

Shortly, on April 1st, a massive mobilization of activists in trade unions, womens' organizations, political formations, church groups, cultural and social bodies, commencing in key centers from Whitehorse on the West to St. John's on the East and Aklavik on the North, will blossom out. It will link up all possible support in cities, towns, villages and hamlets from coast to coast behind its four point objective:

Stop the testing of the U.S. Cruise missiles in Canada.

Have Canada declared a nuclear weapons free zone.

Redirect the wasteful spending on the arms race so as to fund human needs and ensure prosperity through peace.

Make these matters the subject of free debate in the House of Commons.

Should a federal election be declared this fall, the campaign will lobby the candidates, attend nominating meetings and all-candidates meetings to raise disarmament issues, and with door-to-door canvassing recruit more supporters for future activities. The great accumulation of signed petitions that will have been picked up from major centers en route by either a caravan of buses and/or a Peace train coming from each coast, will be presented in Ottawa at a massive rally for the government to act upon.

The campaign is the result of a whole series of preparatory meetings and conferences held in Salt Spring Island, B.C., Ottawa, Toronto and Winnipeg. Last August an initial conference was held in Ottawa in which participated such national organizations as Operation Dismantle, Greenpeace, Voice of Women, the Assembly of First Nations, and prominent individuals including writer Margaret Laurence, publicist Patrick Watson, Ottawa's Mayor Marion Dewar, and leaders of the Canadian Labour Congress.

The January 3 meeting in Toronto, with the commitment of the trade union movement, gave the campaign a whole new dimension.

Buzz Hargrove, administrative assistant to UAW director Robert White, reported that the UAW has decided to join with TDN to help build a genuine mass base under the PPCC through the active participation of the membership of the trade union movement in the long term task of building a mass movement for peace and disarmament in Canada.

For this purpose Hargrove explained the UAW favored the formation in Toronto of a coalition based on the broadening of the TDN, open to all organizations in support of the PPCC. This was agreed upon, and a steering committee was elected.

Almost 200 delegates from many organizations, welcomed by NDP Premier Pawley, gathered at a February conference in Winnipeg to give the PPCC a bi-national structure. Local coalitions are being formed. The Quebec trade union federations are carrying the campaign into Quebec. Everyone join in the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign!

forward

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

Vol. 8, No. 4 [50] ISBN 0700-9038 March-April 1984 Toronto 50 cents

Toronto Trade Union Calendar

Failure to convince Ottawa to pull back from the testing of the Cruise missile over Canada's north has, if anything, provoked the delegates to the Metro Toronto Labour Council into increased action.

At their March meeting they unanimously affiliated the council to the Toronto Disarmament Network and the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign, and voted $1,000 to help fund a full time organizer to mobilize its affiliated membership. The motion was put by Anne Swabrick of the council's Peace and Disarmament Committee. As an opener to its campaign a series of forums at strategic labor centers has been announced.

March 22 — Steelworkers Hall on Cecil St. 8 p.m. "The Myth of Deterence", Michael Cook — Buzz Hargrove.

April 26 — OPSEU hdqtrs. on Grenville St., 8 p.m. "Can we Survive Nuclear Arms Race", Dr. D. Alton — Douglas Saunders.

May 21—OFL Auditorium on Gervais Blvd., 8 p.m. "Impact of Arms Race on the Economy", Mel Watkins — Bob White.

(#50) Mar 1984

Nicaraguan leaders open way to election

by P. Kent

There is nothing that the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua can do but turn all power to the deposed remnants of the murder squads of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and the mercenaries lurking along border points, that will in any way satisfy the U.S. State Department.

Government Coordinator Daniel Ortega has announced, before more than 100,000 people assembled in Managua's Plaza of the Revolution, that Nicaraguans will elect a president, vice-president and a 90 member national assembly this November 4, two days prior to the date when the U.S. elections are to be held. But U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz was completely unmoved by being deprived of his favorite debating point against Nicaragua — that they have no popularly elected government — when he appeared before a Senate hearing recently. Since 1982 the U.S. administration has spent $73 million to wound, kidnap and kill Nicaraguans and destroy their revolution. Some 1,500 have been killed in the war. And Schultz is seeking more in order to extend the mayhem.

The Nicaraguan national security law is to be amended to lift curbs on public campaigning by the political parties and their access to the media. Campaign financing equal to 0.5% of the GNP will be provided. Schultz was skeptical of the franchise qualifications. "I've never heard of a voting age of 16" he said. But it was when Ortega, speaking for the government junta and the Sandinista National Liberation Front, said he considered that 16 year olds had won the right to vote by their massive participation in the revolution that brought a mighty roar of applause sweeping the plaza. Legislation to make this a reality would be recommended to the country's Council of State, he added.

The Nicaraguan leader announced to the crowd which included delegations from more than 50 countries who had come to volunteer cotton and coffee picking, that the amnesty that had been declared for all counterrevolutionaries (excepting their leaders) will be extended until May 4 and he reported that 806 Nicaraguans had chosen to take advantage of the offer.

Ortega defiantly proclaimed that the Nicaraguan people are not tailoring their democracy to the U.S. model of democracy. "We don't want the kind of democracy that in the 1960's denied the vote to several million U.S. citizens for being black and had (segregated) schools, stores, buses and bars for blacks; a democracy where barely 30 per cent of the population participates in presidential elections." Nor does Nicaragua want, referring to Grenada and Lebanon, a democracy that has "military and economic power to threaten and invade those who do not submit to its imperialist schemes."

No, Ortega said, that democracy is part of Somoza's time. "Here we are building our democracy, making our contributions to the democratization of Latin America, especially of Central America."

"We are contributing for the first time in our history to democracy," Ortega proudly reminded those assembled. Democracy for Nicaraguans, he explained, means literacy, people's organizations, workers rights, agrarian reform, sovereignty, independence, and self determination. It means burying selfishness and the exploiters, he said.

A Canadian brigade of some 61 persons who have been working at a state farm in the Leon district of northwestern Nicaragua was bussed into the rally. They formed a contingent, along with other international brigades, behind banners reading "Canadian Brigade — Solidarity", and, "B.C. Workers for Peace and Solidarity".

1962, Trudeau protesting against nuclear arms on Sherbrooke St., Montreal. 1984, his government joins nuclear arms escalation by approval of Cruise test flights over Canada.

Dropping the pilot, the Trudeau years

by The Editors

The resignation of Trudeau after 16 years as prime minister has resulted in a flood of media events constructing a whole mythology about the man, the Liberal party, and the capitalist political process in Canada.

Some are so flagrantly, so embarassingly eulogistic, that they would more properly be uttered over a dead person, when, out of respect for his living associates, one speaks no ill of him. But perhaps on second thought that even accurately explains their character, for the living force which Trudeau has served, we remind ourselves, is that long-trusted tool of Canadian corporate power, the Liberal party machine. Nothing is said of it, yet that is the issue between the Liberals and their Tory opponents as they demonstrate their respective qualifications to serve the capitalist class in the coming elections.

But one can hardly forget the day before yesterday when it was obvious that the keepers of the Liberal party flame had themselves arrived at an unprecedented unity of conviction that Trudeau, as leader of the party, had to die so that the machine that gives them life would not be snuffed out in the electoral process. Seldom have so many in high public office suffered so long from the agony of restraining their compulsion to do away with a leader. Everyone, friend or foe, agrees that the Canadian people are completely turned off with Trudeau's arrogant and cynical manipulation of their aspirations. His continuing in office imperilled the Liberals, not only in the immediate election which they concede is probably already lost, but possibly even the next one, and they have concluded that nothing so becomes him as his taking off—now.

Among this flood of generalizations and evaluations of Trudeau and his role there are two claims upon which there is more agreement than on others: 1) that he gave Canada a high and respected profile in the corridors of world politics, and 2) that he preserved Canada's unity as a nation.

The fact that he was a highly articulate bi-lingual Quebecker from a bourgeois Franco-Scot background with connections among its intellectual elite was seen to eminently qualify him to solve the Quebec question. While having appeared as a civil libertarian, Trudeau took on the task of burning the nationalist aspirations out of the Quebec people with a white hot iron, to the extent even of imposing the War Measures Act on Quebec and on all Canada,

Continued on page 2

Policy discussion at Winnipeg rally

The Winnipeg conference held early in February succeeded in giving the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign a pan-Canadian dimension. Within the framework of united determination to build an effective anti-nuclear war movement it also revealed the wide diversity of opinion among the delegates and the peace movement as a whole.

***

While there was general recognition that the chief force in the fueling of the nuclear arms escalation is the U.S. State Department, there were many in the delegations who identify with the anti-nuclear arms protesters everywhere. That also means the peace groups in East Germany which are protesting the installation of soviet missiles in their country, and the independent peace forces that are being brutally harassed and imprisoned in the USSR.

***

Testimony to the strong desire to build an open and united anti-Cruise

Continued on page 2

forward #50 Mar 1984
Editor: Ross Dowson

Left Caucus plans forums

The Toronto supporters of the Ontario NDP Left Caucus have announced the first two of a series of public forums addressing matters of concern to NDPers and sympathizers. The first will take place on March 24 at noon in the Medical Science Auditorium of the University of Toronto. Jim Laxer's controversial critique of the NDP's Economic Policy will be discussed by David Robertson, Mel Watkins and Simon Rosenblum.

The April meeting will be held on the 17th with the place to be announced. It will be on the NDP and the struggle against the peril of nuclear war. Among the speakers will be Kimberley Wilde, editor of the NDP Anti-War Newsletter, and Richard Johnston, Ontario MLA and initiator of the Ontario Nuclear-Free Zone petition. Two meetings are scheduled for the preparation of Left Caucus participation in the Ontario NDP convention on June 6 and on June 13.

At last fall's annual convention the Left Caucus elected a broad steering committee of 14 persons-composed of an equal number of men and women. Out of the 19 who entered the sharply contested election, eleven were elected from the conference floor. An additional three have been elected from functioning groups in Ottawa, Hamilton and Sudbury.

Women leading fight over plant closure

Last November another plant was shutdown. The boss told all the workers they would be called back — three or four months down the line. Just another one of the many small factories which fringe all the urban areas across the country. This one has been operating for 40 years — in Toronto — and employed about 200 mostly Italian immigrant women making pullovers, jogging suits, slacks — many of them for 20 to 25 years during which they scraped together enough money to buy into a house and raise a family. Came this month — the word got out that the machinery and furnishings were being tagged for auction and the plant was to be closed down by the bank.

So what's new? Thousands of factories like this and much larger, many of them branch plants of some of the biggest corporations in the United States, are dumping their production workers and cutting back to warehousing and distributing imports. The packing houses in the Junction are now shutdown. The Foodworkers Union protested, with the support of many civic bodies, but the plants are gone. General Electric has been closing out unit after unit despite arguments cleverly marshalled by the UE. The UAW denounced CCM for closing its Weston plant as it commenced to toss veteran employees out into the street. That's just the way it is!

Except that it hasn't worked out that way with Purtex Canada Limited and those 200 mostly older women workers. Perhaps you will recall how, organized in the Canadian Textile and Chemical Workers Union (CCU), they made the life of the boss so miserable that he removed the TV cameras he had had installed in the washrooms to embarass them and harass them about every minute they were away from the machines.

Now they have done it again. Thirteen left their husbands and children, and with their good wishes, went up to the factory with food, bed rolls, and occupied it. They carefully removed all the tags for the auction, gathered them together, burned them, and settled in for an indefinite stay. At the same time 100-150 supporters turned up at the Toronto-Dominion Bank branch which handles the company accounts, to picket and if necessary to sit in there too. The nervous bank officers agreed to meet with a delegation, and with the aid of the sitting NDP MP and a labor economist it won a "stay of execution" — time for Dan Heap and Puretex owner Leslie Kapp to seek government assistance to keep the factory open.

Those women! They don't speak very good English and they just don't seem to understand why they cannot have their jobs, why the banks are so agreeable to keeping the scandalously bankrupt Dome Petroleum Corporation going, why the government tossed millions into Maislin Transport while it went down the drain, and how it can even be suggested that there is nothing that can be done about Puretex.

Protest frame-up trials of Poland's Solidarity! Send Cdn. lawyer delegation to monitor the trials!

Public forum:

Friday, April 8—8:00 p.m.

252 Bloor St. W.

(St. George subway stn.)

Speakers:

- **Alicja Matuszewska**
  Member of the Presidium of the National Commission of Director of the Solidarity Information Office in Canada.
- **Prof. Eva Eliasz-Brantley**
  Legal adviser of NSZZ, Solidarnosc. Professor of Law at Harvard University.
- **Wally Majesky**
  President of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, CLC
- **James Lockyer**
  Human Rights activist & lawyer
- **Jan Kaszuba**
  National President of the Canadian Polish Congress
- **Harry Kopyto**
  Human Rights activist & lawyer
- **Representatives from the Federal political parties**

Sponsored by: **The Lawyers' Cttee. to Stop the Show Trials**
The Solidarity Support Cttee. of Toronto

P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ont. M9C 4V2 • 532-3838 or 364-4215

Programmatic declaration by Provisional Coordinating Cttee.

The following is a somewhat abridged translation of the Programmatic Declaration of the Provisional Coordinating Committee (Tymczasowa Komisja Koordynacyjna) of Solidarnosc.

It was signed by Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Hardek, Bogdan Lis, Jozef Pinior, and Eugeniusz Szumiejko.

Democratic reforms designed to solve social and economic problems are a deadly threat to the existing system. A government that rules by means of fear is condemned to live in fear itself of an explosion of mass hatred.

Today our readiness to make concessions has been seen only as an expression of weakness, and thus helped to maintain the repressive system. The society has no choice — the only road is resistance, struggle against the dictatorship.

The objective of our struggle remains the achievement of the program of the First National Congress of Delegates of the NSZZ Solidarnosc...that is, building a republic based on self-management.

— In such a republic, the government would be under the control of the society. The factories would be run by workers self-management bodies. The municipalities and provinces would be run by territorial self-management bodies. The country as a whole would have a democratically elected parliament.

— There would be independent courts to maintain justice.

— The means of production would genuinely belong to the society and would assure those who work in them a real share in the income they bring in.

— Culture, education, and the mass media would serve the society.

This program is based on two postulates: On the one hand, the country needs deepgoing reform of social, economic, and political life. On the other, Poland's geo-political position is such that reforms will have to be carried out gradually, without disturbing the balance of power in Europe.

The perspective of a republic based on self-management does not run counter to socialism. And the achievement of it must not come into conflict with the existing international order. Poland's alliances cannot be based on the existence of universally hated dictatorial governments that offer the country no perspective for development. Rather, such a state of affairs becomes a constant danger to peace in Europe.

The achievement of our program requires creating a situation in which the government is forced to seek a compromise with the society. Only then can a process of reform begin and the conditions be consolidated for the open functioning of independent trade unions, organizations, and associations representing social interests. In order for the system of rule in Poland to be capable of concessions, in order for there to be a real perspective for reform, actions are needed that can lead to breaking the grip of the present dictatorship.

Today the resistance to, and struggle against, the dictatorship is taking the following forms:

— economic struggle;

— the struggle for an independent social consciousness;

— preparation for the general strike.

These are the tasks that must be taken up by the self-organizing society.

Our main weapon in this struggle is social solidarity. It was by this means that we won in August 1980 and that we have survived the repression under the state of war....The consciousness that we stand together was, and remains, a power ....For this reason, no one who has suffered repression — prisoners, victims of beatings, people thrown out of their jobs — can be left without support and help....

The refusal to take part in falsehood, in injustice, and in oppression is a daily form of struggle against the dictatorship in which we can all participate. By maintaining a general boycott of the phoney trade unions set up by the government, we have all won a common political victory....

As long as the state of war lasts, it should be a principle to boycott all institutions, organizations, and associations that

— show support for the present system of dictatorship,

— try to replace the social organizations that have been deprived of their legal status,

— collaborate in acts of repression,

— are designed to give a false impression that political and social life exists, such as the National Front parties.

We will not participate in the farce of elections to the parliament or the municipal councils. We will not participate in the mass rallies, official demonstrations, and celebrations organized by the government...Let this government find itself in a political vacuum.

We have to apply the principle of the boycott selectively. It is right and necessary to take advantage of the possibilities for independent action in those official institutions whose objective is to meet real social needs. However, it is necessary to weigh whether this activity may give credibility to the false pretences of the regime and thereby help to uphold it....

The refusal front is also a front of active struggle. The government is certainly going to try to break it by means of blackmail and corruption. Our task is to stand together against this. Every case of blackmail must become a public issue. That undermines any effect

Continued overleaf

Program of Solidarnosc

continued from overleaf

it might have and makes it more difficult to use this means in the future.

Another form of defense against corruption is the constant collection of aid funds, the formation of committees of social aid, the demand for credit and aid unions as well as for workers vacation funds, independent of the phoney trade unions. We cannot let things ever go so far that the shame of appealing to the progovernment unions becomes the only way out for people in real need.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

After existing for 38 years, the Polish People's Republic has come to the verge of absolute want. With our food rationed and deprived of medicine and clothing, we have been thrown into a position of bankrupcy, and a debt of 30 billion dollars is going to burden us for many years. Enormous wealth is being wasted in unutilized plants and incompleted projects. We are falling further behind in technology.

The way in which Polish economic potential is being used is taking on features of colonial exploitation. Ruinous exploitation of the coal mines has caused dozens of deaths, and it is leading to the devastation of the mines and the destruction of Poland's raw materials reserves

Deprived of investment, agriculture is incapable of feeding the people. The destruction of the environment is threatening the biological basis of the national life.

The state of war dictatorship has done nothing but carry out a program of huge price increases, without offering in return any perspective for improvement of the economic situation. This program, in isolation from the other market and organizational mechanisms, has led in one year to a drastic decline in the standard of living by more than 36%. Today already one third of workers families are living on the verge of destitution. At the same time, the society has to bear the enormous burden of maintaining a vastly swollen repressive apparatus.

A new increase in prices is promised. It will cause a further impoverishment of society, spread want, and threaten the minimum for existence.

The state of war and the legislation passed under it are reducing the chances for getting out of the crisis.

The reform calling for self-activity, self-management, and self-financing has led in fact only to changing the facade of the old discredited system of planning from above and to a militarization of

→p.2

the main branches of the economy.

The drastic limitation of the rights of workers has created slave-labor conditions, with forced labor, the administrative chaining of workers to their workplaces, and the threat of losing your work for political reasons. In such conditions, the self-management economic reform becomes a fiction. The self-management bodies cannot carry out their obligations.

We cannot take responsibility for the state of the economy. We must, however, be careful to maintain it on a level that will assure the best possible conditions for reconstructing it in the future.

We cannot accept a further decrease in the standard of living. The most important point in the program of defending the basic interests of the people and workers is becoming the struggle for survival. It will be waged in every workplace and on every farm. We support every initiative that helps to organize the farmers to defend their rights.

In the workplaces, we will wage this struggle by means of every possible form of pressure, including:

— Demanding strict observance of the labor code, the regulations on workload and pay, the regulations on technological norms, health conditions and so forth.

— Demanding accurate information about decisions regarding production and the results, the distribution of the wage fund and bonuses, the functioning of the social services. Publicizing wrong decisions that have been covered up, unpopular directives, examples of waste, incompetence and repression.

— Organizing collective protests, petitions, and refusal to work overtime, boycotting directives that restrict the rights of workers and create divisions among them. The most powerful and effective form of collective protest is the economic strike.

— Using the workers self-management bodies where there are possibilities to make them serve to defend the living conditions of the workers and protect them against repressive acts. Depriving the self-management bodies of the possibility for acting in these areas should be the signal for the members of the workers council to resign and appeal to the workers to boycott the self-management board.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Solidarnosc arose out of common protest, out of the common work and struggle of various strata of society. In building this movement we overcame divisions that the government had consciously and deliberately created. The continued cooperation of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals is the guarantee of victory.

The society can avoid the dangers created by totalitarian rule in the areas of political and social consciousness, education, and national culture by thinking politically, knowing its own history, valuing genuine culture that does not lend itself to ideological manipulation. Therefore a central task today is encouraging thinking.

In this, a special role falls to intellectual and creative circles, from whom the society expects work for the good of all. We support every independent initiative. We will create a social fund and system of grants to enable them to become independent of the dictatorship.

It is necessary to encourage social thinking among workers by undertaking self-education projects, building up the network of union bulletins, libraries, and independent publishing operations.

The following are examples of the independent institutions and initiatives that are necessary: setting up means for selling publications and art works, press and radio, independent education for our common good. Such initiatives must be supported and defended. The existence of such a current builds independent thought and activity in the society and prepares it for living in a democratic republic based on self-management.

PREPARING FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE

The general strike is the most powerful form of our struggle. Mass participation in struggles for limited demands is an important stage in preparing for it. Conducting such a strike depends on many factors, of which the basic are the following:

— The level of social self-organization and determination.

— General understanding of, and agreement with, the goals.

— The international political situation.

These same factors also affect the readiness of the dictatorship to smash the workers. Up until now, a regime that is politically prepared to use every means in waging war on the society has found sufficient forces to break strikes.

This readiness to use force cannot last very long. It involves great political and social costs. The time is coming when the strike weapon will again become a real means for struggle, when a decision to use force against striking workers would seriously threaten the survival of the dictatorship itself.

The perspective of a general strike — which is inevitable in our opinion — does not represent an abandonment of our program for changing the system through evolutionary means. It only indicates the way of breaking the grip of the present dictatorship and creating the conditions for moving forward toward democratic reforms.

In the process of preparing for the general strike, we must formulate a minimum social program, a body of strike demands. On the one hand, these demands should guarantee the advance of the reform program. On the other, they should take into consideration the limitations that arise from internal and international political realities. ■

from **International Viewpoint** No. 27, Paris, France.

Jacek Kuron, left, founding member and leading theoretician of KOR, upon his release after almost three years of imprisonment, declared that the amnesty was designed to prevent himself and associates from defending themselves from the charges of subversion and from indicting the Jaruzelski regime. The amnesty "from which we cannot appeal served to prevent the trial which we have been demanding," he said, and is "a continuation of all those acts of lawlessness." Andzej Gwiazda, right, was a founding member of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast, a delegate to Solidarity's First Congress and deputy Chairman of the National Committee. Upon his release he declared that the amnesty, while it may get some dollars for the regime, is a gesture of conciliation, but not with us nor with society."

---

by Lech Walesa

At the moment of the commencement of the trial described by the authorities as the trial of KOR, I think with emotion and a feeling of solidarity about the four 'Solidarność' activists who will appear in the dock: Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Romaszewski and Henryk Wujec. I know them well; we fought together. I know that they are honest and courageous people.

Each imprisonment, each sentence passed on people from 'Solidarność' threatens Poland. I am certain that millions of people are demanding their release, as I do. This trial also attempts to put in the dock KOR itself, and to erase the memory of the help given by the Polish intelligentsia to the Polish workers. I myself, when I was down, ate KOR's bread. One does no forget such things. I would like to say one thing: no-one will succeed in dividing Polish 'Solidarność'.

3 July 1984

from Solidarnosc NEWS, August 17, 1984 a newsletter compiled by the Information Office of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" in Canada, c/o Canadian Labour Congress, 15 Gervais Dr., Don Mills, Ont. M3C 1Y8, mailed on request.

Printed by union labor.

→p.3

p.3

Solidarity with British Mineworkers struggle

The following statement of support to the striking National Union of Mineworkers in Britain comes from a group of Warsaw members of Solidarity, now driven underground by the Jaruzelski regime and publishing the bulletin *Robotnik* which has a circulation of 6,000 to 7,000 copies. The letter not only comes out of the strong sense of international working class unity that permeates the Polish workers but is prompted by the fact of the sharp increase in Polish coal exports to Britain in the recent period that can only serve to strengthen the Thatcher government's resolve to break the miners strike there.

The following English version of the open letter was turned over to us by Bruce Allen of the Polish Workers Solidarity Committee of St. Catharines, Ontario upon his return from a recent visit to Poland.

To Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers: "For months now we and thousands of our union colleagues have been avidly watching your struggle in defence of your right to work. We well know that your fight at this time is taking on an increasingly universal signficance. It is a simple fact that it will effect the very existence of the British trade union movement.

We have already condemned the Jaruzelski regime's exports of Polish coal to Great Britain and we will continue to do so with all the resources at our disposal.

With Thatcher getting along so well with Jaruzelski it is timely to draw logical conclusions. That is why we hope that in the name of workers' solidarity you will reverse your unfriendly attitude to our movement.*

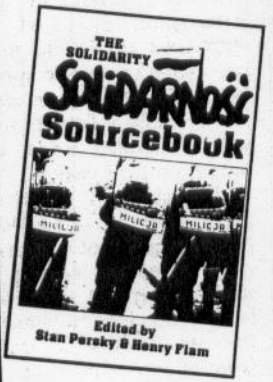
We want to express through you our solidarity and support for the striking miners and all British workers."

Executive Board of *Robotnik*
(Bulletin of the Inter-Factory Workers' Committee of Solidarnosc)
Robotnik Political Group
Group Emmanuel Goldstein

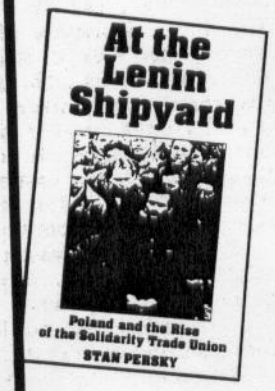
*When the Jaruzelski regime in Poland imposed martial law in its on-going attempt to crush Solidarnosc, Scargill refused to come to its defence.

from **Forward**, No. 51, Toronto

Order your copy now!



Edited by
Stan Persky & Henry Flam



order from Polish Workers Solidarity Committee
240 Rusholme Road,
Toronto, M6H 2Y5.
$8.50 postpaid /
cheque or money order.

Intl Solidarnosc protests against Toronto *Sun* ruse

The Information Office of NSZZ Solidarnosc in Canada, closely associated with the Canadian Labour Congress, has officially made known its displeasure with the use of the famed Solidarnosc logo by a featured columnist of the Toronto daily tabloid newspaper, **The Sun.**

Zygmunt Przetakiewicz is now using his former association with the Canadian Information Office along with the Solidarnosc logo to imply some legitimate association with, if not approval of his views, by the official leadership of Solidarnosc. Now in exile, it operates as the Co-ordinating Office NSZZ Solidarnosc Abroad. The present director of the Canadian Information Office is Wojciech Galewski who supervises the publication of *Solidarnosc News*, obtainable on request from OFL office, 15 Gervais Dr., Don Mills, Ont.

As a **Sun** columnist, Przetakiewicz is now vigorously beating the drum in support of the cold-war warrior, millionaire, and former owner of the **Sun**, Peter Worthington. "Reaganite" Worthington is presently campaigning as the Progressive Conservative candidate to replace NDP MP Lynn McDonald in the Toronto Broadview riding.

Przetakiewicz has no authority whatsoever to use the symbol of the 10-million-member Polish Solidarity trade union movement, formed as an independent self-governing trade union and recognized by the Polish government through the signing of the Godansk Accords of August 1980. Now brutally suppressed by the Jaruzelski military regime it continues from the underground to project the concept of workers' self-management or workers' control of the Polish economy.

by Ross Dowson

secret police bill in critical stage

SUBMISSION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE AND LEGAL AFFAIRS CONCERNING BILL C-9

by

THE OTTAWA-HULL COALITION AGAINST THE SECURITY BILL
78 Daly Ave., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 6E4

The Ottawa-Hull Coalition Against The Security Bill is the direct descendant of the Ottawa-Hull Coalition Against Bill C-157. The organization was formed in response to Bill C-157 in May, 1983, and has continued, with its named changed for obvious reasons, following the introduction of Bill C-9. The Coalition comprises the following labour, peace, women's, human rights, and other organizations in the Ottawa area: Ottawa And District Labour Council; National Action Committee On The Status of Women; Operation Dismantle (NCR Region); Gays of Ottawa; Ottawa-Hull Area Council (PSAC); Ottawa District Council (CUPE); Women's International League For Peace and Freedom; Ottawa Law Union; Civil Liberties Association (NCR); Canadians for Justice in the Middle East; Women's Career Counselling; Ontario Public Interest Research Group (University of Ottawa); Rape Crisis Centre; Ottawa Peace Council; Ottawa Disarmament Coalition; Interval House; Sexual Assault Support Centre; Outaouais Peace Action Collective; National Organization for the Reform of the Marijuana Laws (Ottawa); International Women's Week; Ottawa NDP Area Council; Alliance For Race Relations; Ottawa Committee For Labour Action; PeaceWorks; Ottawa Central America Solidarity Committee; Ottawa Women's Bookstore; Ottawa Humanist Association.

The position of the Coalition is that the Justice and Legal Affairs Committee recommend withdrawal of the legislation for the following reasons:

1. The mandate given to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service [CSIS] is too broad. We recognize that the mandate has been narrowed slightly from C-157 in that not every group seeking to change the constitutionally established system of government will be targetted—only those seeking its "violent overthrow" — but C9 does nothing to restrict other aspects of the CSIS's authority to conduct widespread surveillance. Section 2 of the legislation would still permit surveillance over Canadian groups which support, for example, the activities of the African National Congress against apartheid or which support the efforts of dissident movements in El Salvador, the Phillipines, and elsewhere to rid their societies of brutal and corrupt regimes. We also object to the provision in sub-section (d) which can be directed, for example, against unions engaging in industrial action against wage controls.

Supporters of the bill have been pointing to the specific exemption for groups engaging in "lawful advocacy, protest, or dissent", but this is negated by the condition attached to it — that such dissent must not be "carried on in conjunction with any of the activities referred to" above. Most dissent would, of necessity, fall in this category. For example, it would make peaceful dissent in support of workers striking against controls legitimate prey of the CSIS. It would make those who peacefully demonstrated and petitioned against the imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970 legitmate targets of a security service.

2. The powers given to the CSIS are too strong. Like its predecessor C-157, the current legislation legalizes all of the "dirty tricks" perpetrated by the RCMP security service, which were the source of the great public outcry in the last decade leading to the establishment of the MacDonald Royal Commission. The bill would allow the security police to tap phones and to legally open mail, break into premises to plant hidden bugs and cameras, seize documents and go on fishing expeditions through confidential medical records and tax returns. Even though the CSIS is ostensibly to be an "investigative" rather than "police" agency, its agents will have the same powers to break the law as police do. The MacDonald Commission would have largely restricted the use of these intrusive techniques to foreign nationals.

3. The controls on the CSIS are too weak. The Security Intelligence Review Committee is expanded from three to five, a cosmetic change in that it will continue to be composed of Cabinet appointees and, despite the recommendation of the Pitfield Senate Committee, will not have access to Cabinet documents. Committee deliberations will be shielded from public scrutiny. There is no provision for a Parliamentary oversight committee, much sought after by many witnesses at the Senate hearings, and we have little confidence in the courts as a control mechanism given their record in authorizing judicial warrants.

The Coalition is not prepared to consider amendments to the legislation, and does not believe other citizens should, until the requirement for a political police agency is shown to be necessary to our vital interests. A national debate over the need for a security service has yet to be held. The MacDonald Commission and the McKenzie Commission before it simply assumed, without question, that such a service was necessary. In fact, challenging the assumption is normally regarded by those in authority as a heresy.

It has been one of the objectives of our Coalition during the present controversy over the legislation to begin questioning that assumption. We have suggested, for example, that the essential function of a security service is not, as we are so often told, to protect the Canadian public against spies and terrorists, but to protect the political and economic elite from the social movements which Canadians have traditionally organized to change the status quo.

→p. 2

from p. 1

In this sense, the history of Canada is not unique. Political police have existed since the dawn of time and all were set up with a single purpose in mind: to protect the status quo against dissent. There has not been a ruling group in history which has not wanted to know what the broad population was thinking and doing and how close they were coming to challenging the system as a whole. The special role of a security service has been to provide this information.

We think this explains more than any other single fact why the proposed mandate of the CSIS is so broad, and why there is the stubborn insistence on the part of the government that it remain so. Were the primary function of the security service to simply monitor the Soviet and East European embassies or the handful of domestic and foreign dissidents engaged in violent acts, there would be no need for what currently exists and what the legislation contemplates: a vast security apparatus employing thousands of agents, costing tens of millions of dollars, and maintaining a mountain of nearly a million files on ordinary Canadian citizens, some of them activists in the groups represented by our Coalition.

We believe the government — and, by extension, Parliament — has a responsibility to justify why legislation apart from the Criminal Code and the Official Secrets Act, and this vast apparatus, is necessary in relation to our security needs. We believe it has a responsibility to situate this need in the context of our history, where according to testimony before your committee in 1978, only three Canadians had been apprehended by the RCMP for espionage activities since World War II. By contrast, as is well known, the RCMP, from its inception as a gendarmarie used against the Metis and natives in the West, has been busily spying on and disrupting groups which have stood in the way of or threatened the interests of the wealthy and the powerful in this country. It is interesting to note that the growth of the security service has always corresponded not to the growth or decline of international tensions, as we might expect, but to the ebb and flow of domestic social unrest. Apart from the turbulent 1960's, the only other two periods where the security service grew considerably were in the immediate aftermath of the Winnipeg General Strike and during the Great Depression, when the authorities were greatly alarmed by the growth and radicalization of the labour movement which historically has represented the greatest potential threat to the status quo.

Just as widespread surveillance of peaceful social movements does not appear to be an "abberation" to our Coalition, neither do the so-called "dirty tricks" which are aimed at us and so many other Canadians. The needs of surveillance which go way beyond the Soviet Embassy would appear to require intrusive techniques such as electronic bugging, opening of mail, the use of informants, and finally the right to enter and search premises where activists live and gather, and to seize documents and other property.

This is not to suggest that such abuses cannot be curbed. But the present legislation sanctifies rather than seeks to prohibit these techniques. And beyond this legislation, there is, sadly, little to demonstrate a desire to end these practices by the institutions themselves — Parliament, the courts, the administrative agencies — entrusted with the responsibility of acting as the watchdogs over the political police. These institutions at present are controlled by judges, administrators, and politicians who not only accept, but also, it would seem, in most cases firmly believe that groups such as those we represent should be under surveillance and who are consequently willing to give the political police the powers to do so. In many cases, they have, as is well known, turned a blind eye to the illegal excesses of the security service.

The Coalition, therefore, has believed from its formation that Canadians need to become aware not only of what kind of security service is necessary, but whether in fact one is necessary at all. They need the opportunity to listen to a full-blown national discussion about whether a political police agency has done more to advance their rights and liberties than it has done to subvert them. They need to be allowed to make an informed choice about whether the 67 million dollars currently spent annually on policing legitimate political activities should be diverted to police criminal activities. It is likely, in our opinion, that given such a choice, most people would quickly appreciate that their most pressing concerns are not spies and terrorists but protection against crime, including white collar and corporate crime like tax evasion, price fixing, and the production of shoddy or hazardous goods which cost us billions as taxpayers and consumers.

The Canadian people have never been given the opportunity to make that choice. A recommendation that the bill be shelved until it can be determined what, if any, need there is for the vast security bureaucracy contemplated by C-9 would be an historic step in defence of traditional liberties. We urge you to take that step. **April 16, 1984**

Circulated as a public service with the aid of the Socialist Rights Defence Fund. The SRDF has been constituted to support the suits initiated by Ross Dowson against the RCMP to establish the legitimacy and legality of socialist thought in face of charges of "subversion" by the RCMP. The Fund has been endorsed by a broad spectrum of organizations and individuals including such internationally known figures as Noam Chomsky, Jessica Mitford, Linus Pauling and Benjamin Spock, almost every area council affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress, and the federal New Democratic Party in convention.

For further information on the SRDF, write SRDF, 40 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto, Ont. M4K 1V5.

Typeset by Union Labour.

WORKERS VANGUARD

–reprinted from Workers Vanguard No.356, 8 June 1984

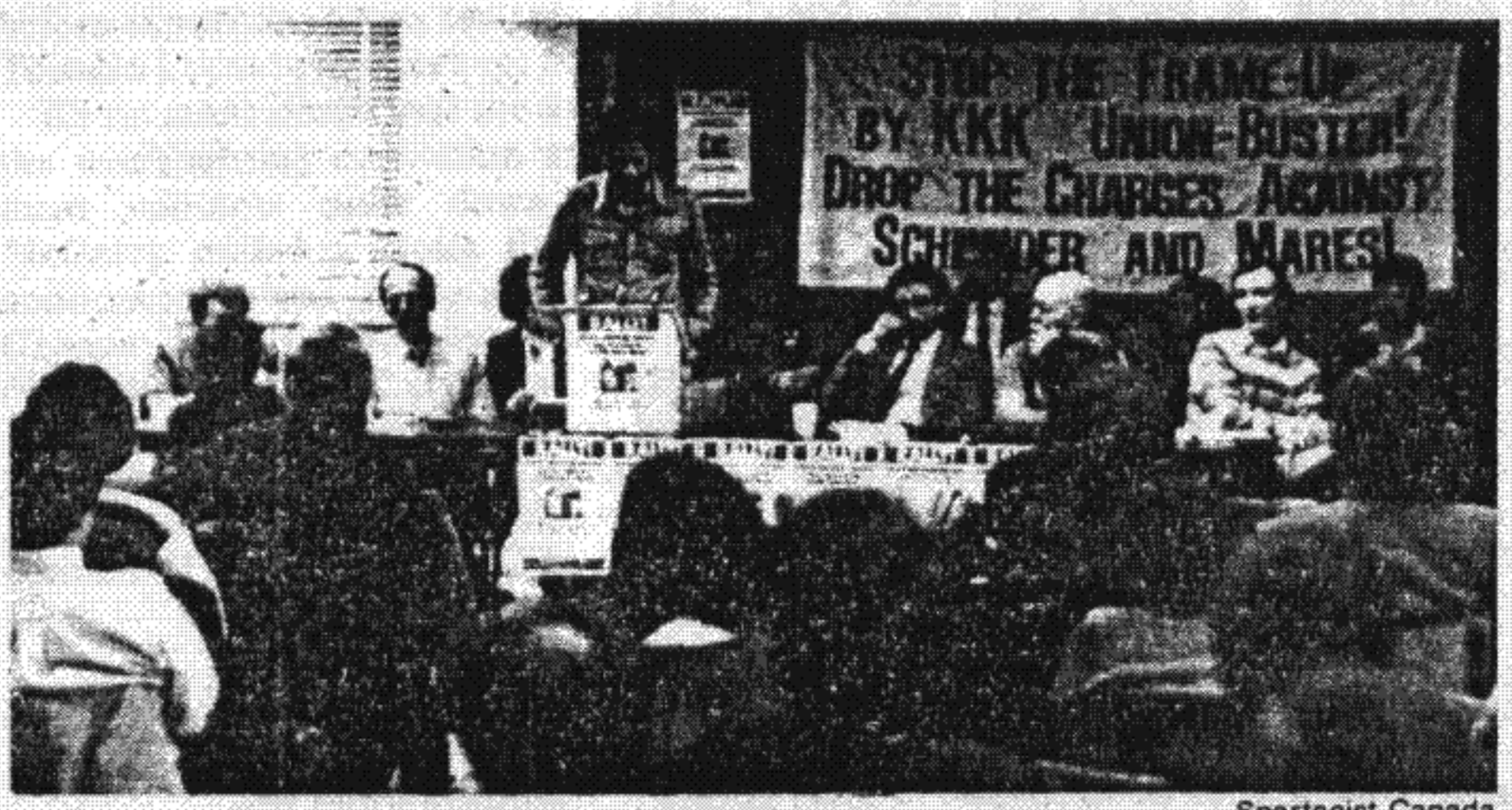
Reinstate Anti-Fascist Postal Workers!

Beat Back McCarthyite Purge in Canadian Union!

This stinks! Last month seven Toronto postal workers were *expelled* from the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) for defending their union and the labor movement against William Lau Richardson, Canada's most notorious union-busting fascist and agent provocateur. At the same time Richardson, the self-declared "intelligence director" of the Canadian Ku Klux Klan, and his Nazi sidekick George Graham are trying to put two of these postal militants, Paul Schneider and Michael Mares, behind bars for defending a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration from these two fascists.

Labor support has poured in across Canada for the anti-fascist unionists. Ten union locals, 86 labor officials and more than 300 individual unionists have endorsed the demand of the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists for dropping all charges against Schneider and Mares. Recent endorsements have included the Toronto and Vancouver locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Vancouver local of LCUC, Scarborough GM UAW Local 303, Iron Workers Local 721, and the president of Local 721 and vice president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, John Donaldson.

Scandalously, however, the national president of the Letter Carriers, Robert McGarry, not only sabotaged LCUC support for this vital case but threw Mares, Schneider and five fellow unionists who supported their case out of the union! Such an undisguised McCarthyite purge hasn't been seen in Canadian labor since the Cold War red scares. An April 10 leaflet distributed by the seven



Spartacist Canada

Rally in Toronto defends postal worker militants victimized for defending labor-backed demonstration against fascist provocation.

(R.D. at centre, table looking towards speaker)

Motion Passed by Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, 27 May

WHEREAS:

LCUC national president Robert McGarry has had seven LCUC Local 1 members expelled from the LCUC because they fought to defend their union and the labor movement against the dangerous KKK union-buster William Lau Richardson by building labor support for LCUC members Paul Schneider and Mike Mares who are threatened with ten years in jail on frame-up charges brought by Richardson;

WHEREAS:

the expulsion of Schneider, Mares and five other LCUC Local 1 members weakens all of labor in the fight against our most deadly enemies like Richardson;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

that the CUPW Toronto local

a) demands the immediate reinstatement of these brothers and sisters (Paul Schneider, Mike Mares, John Agius, Audrey Minton, Gerry Docherty, Jane Kirby, Ron Gaudet) as members of the LCUC;

b) recognizes that Robert McGarry's conduct both in expelling these unionists and in regard to the deadly union-busting Centurion Investigation Ltd., owned by his two brothers, is incompatible with the elementary principles of decency and labor militancy.

to their local explained what was behind this witchhunt:

> "...we put out a leaflet asking if there could be any relation to the fact that McGarry's brothers, Daniel and John McGarry, were the owners of Centurion Investigation Ltd. that hired Richardson to make bombs that were planted in the car of a UAW union official and a union organizer, to beat up organizers for the textile workers union. McGarry's answer: to put Schneider, Mares and the rest of us on trial two days before Richardson's trial of Schneider and Mares in the bosses' courts."

Testifying before his own kangaroo court Robert McGarry claimed he has no knowledge of the union-busting terror carried out by his brothers—despite headlines in the bourgeois press—and the fact that Daniel McGarry was jailed for his part in Centurion's dirty work and both Daniel and John McGarry received heavy fines. McGarry proceeded to testify that he would accept William Lau Richardson, Centurion's murderous union-busting bomb-maker and fascist mercenary, as a member of the LCUC!

McGarry is hell-bent on creating a union whose only "good" members are fascists and scabs, and where militant defenders of labor are chucked out. In their own local Schneider and Mares have had to combat open defenders of Richardson and other fascist causes like the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee, which encompasses the now defunct fascist Western Guard and the Nazis. Recently an outraged membership had to vote down the attempt of the Toronto LCUC bureaucrats to readmit an expelled scab who had tried to run over a shop steward on a picket line! But when the seven union militants came out to the May 17 meeting of their local, as was their right under the union constitution which mandates the right of appeal before expulsion, goons sent out by the Toronto Local 1 piecards kept them out.

It's no coincidence that the same day the witchhunting conviction expelling these militants came down Robert McGarry pulled a Doug Fraser and announced he was taking a seat on the Canada Post Corporation board of directors. The LCUC chief has made a career out of servile collaboration with postal management. The LCUC national executive even made a movie about it entitled "The Other Way"! The LCUC witchhunters went after the seven Toronto militants *because* they fought to defend the union against union-busting and fascist terror by mobilizing the power of labor in its own defense, and because several of these militants are well-known supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. Now, like Fraser on the Chrysler board, McGarry sits as an open company cop policing the union for the postal bosses. This was not lost on the rabid labor-haters and red-baiters of the *Toronto Sun*, which gloated in a May 16 column: "Those who crave postal peace should applaud" McGarry's appointment. Two days later another *Sun* columnist wrote:

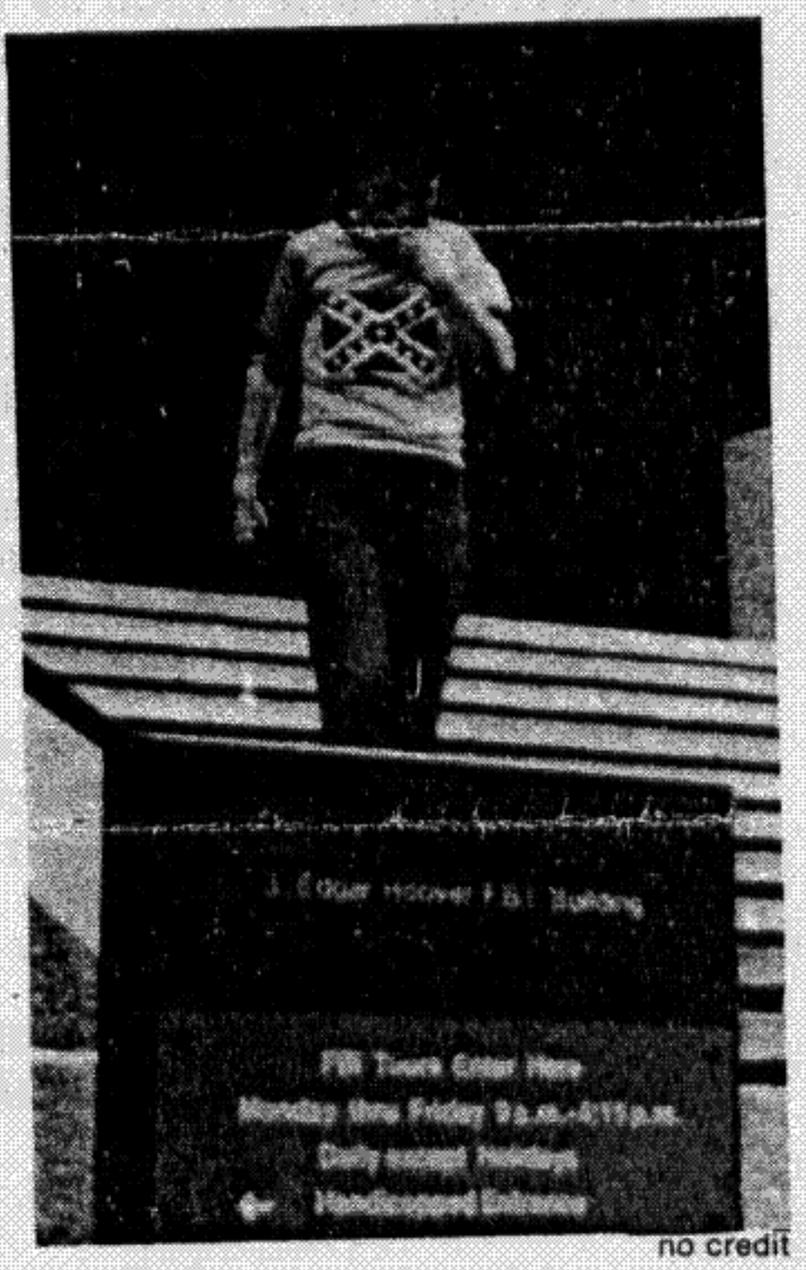
> "Even the old trouble spots (Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto) are far less cranky and volatile. The relatively small number of Trotskyites who made class-warfare chatter the lingo of the post office as workplace haven't disappeared but they're more muted and seem to have less influence on the rank and file."

McGarry's witchhunt and Richardson's frame-up are not going unopposed either within the LCUC or in the Canadian labor movement as a whole. When McGarry tried to stop Vancouver LCUC Local 12 from defending Schneider and Mares, they told him to shove it and endorsed the demand to drop the charges against these two anti-fascist unionists. Five Local 12 executive board members sent an urgent protest to the national trial board denouncing the "lack of national [LCUC] support for Bros. Schneider and Mares—who regardless of their political views deserve our support in defending themselves against the likes of William Lau Richardson at a labor-sanctioned demonstration. We feel that this trial board hearing is unwarranted and that the timing is unfortunate considering that these Brothers have a civil suit pending."

On the eve of the national convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC, the national union federation), the Toronto CUPW local passed a motion condemning McGarry's despicable conduct (see box). The Toronto CUPW motion and the original leaflet exposing the relationship between the McGarrys and fascist union-buster Richardson were distributed to more than half the 2,300 delegates at the CLC national convention held in Montreal this past week. Many delegates and officials at the convention, outraged by McGarry's scandalous McCarthyite witchhunt, endorsed the Schneider and Mares case and took bundles of leaflets and copies of the Toronto CUPW motion to raise these issues in their locals.

Overturn the expulsions! Reinstate the LCUC Seven! Stop union-busting fascist Richardson! Drop the charges against Schneider and Mares! Toronto LCUC members need a fighting leadership, not a sellout artist who fronts for the worst enemies of the working people. ■

Dangerous Fascist



no credit

Canadian Nazi hoodlum George Graham wears Confederate flag T-shirt walking out of FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C.

For more information phone (416) 977-0647, or write: P.O. Box 463, Station E, Toronto M6H 4E3.

Printed by union labour

Solidarnosc Today

Programmatic declaration by Provisional Coordinating Cttee.

The following is a somewhat abridged translation of the Programmatic Declaration of the Provisional Coordinating Committee (Tymczasowa Komisja Koordynacyjna) of Solidarnosc.

It was signed by Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Hardek, Bogdan Lis, Jozef Pinior, and Eugeniusz Szumiejko.

Democratic reforms designed to solve social and economic problems are a deadly threat to the existing system. A government that rules by means of fear is condemned to live in fear itself of an explosion of mass hatred.

Today our readiness to make concessions has been seen only as an expression of weakness, and thus helped to maintain the repressive system. The society has no choice — the only road is resistance, struggle against the dictatorship.

The objective of our struggle remains the achievement of the program of the First National Congress of Delegates of the NSZZ Solidarnosc...that is, building a republic based on self-management.

— In such a republic, the government would be under the control of the society. The factories would be run by workers self-management bodies. The municipalities and provinces would be run by territorial self-management bodies. The country as a whole would have a democratically elected parliament.

— There would be independent courts to maintain justice.

— The means of production would genuinely belong to the society and would assure those who work in them a real share in the income they bring in.

— Culture, education, and the mass media would serve the society.

This program is based on two postulates: On the one hand, the country needs deepgoing reform of social, economic, and political life. On the other, Poland's geo-political position is such that reforms will have to be carried out gradually, without disturbing the balance of power in Europe.

The perspective of a republic based on self-management does not run counter to socialism. And the achievement of it must not come into conflict with the existing international order. Poland's alliances cannot be based on the existence of universally hated dictatorial governments that offer the country no perspective for development. Rather, such a state of affairs becomes a constant danger to peace in Europe.

The achievement of our program requires creating a situation in which the government is forced to seek a compromise with the society. Only then can a process of reform begin and the conditions be consolidated for the open functioning of independent trade unions, organizations, and associations representing social interests. In order for the system of rule in Poland to be capable of concessions, in order for there to be a real perspective for reform, actions are needed that can lead to breaking the grip of the present dictatorship.

Today the resistance to, and struggle against, the dictatorship is taking the following forms:

— economic struggle;

— the struggle for an independent social consciousness;

— preparation for the general strike.

These are the tasks that must be taken up by the self-organizing society.

Our main weapon in this struggle is social solidarity. It was by this means that we won in August 1980 and that we have survived the repression under the state of war....The consciousness that we stand together was, and remains, a power ....For this reason, no one who has suffered repression — prisoners, victims of beatings, people thrown out of their jobs — can be left without support and help....

The refusal to take part in falsehood, in injustice, and in oppression is a daily form of struggle against the dictatorship in which we can all participate. By maintaining a general boycott of the phoney trade unions set up by the government, we have all won a common political victory....

As long as the state of war lasts, it should be a principle to boycott all institutions, organizations, and associations that

— show support for the present system of dictatorship,

— try to replace the social organizations that have been deprived of their legal status,

— collaborate in acts of repression,

— are designed to give a false impression that political and social life exists, such as the National Front parties.

We will not participate in the farce of elections to the parliament or the municipal councils. We will not participate in the mass rallies, official demonstrations, and celebrations organized by the government...Let this government find itself in a political vacuum.

We have to apply the principle of the boycott selectively. It is right and necessary to take advantage of the possibilities for independent action in those official institutions whose objective is to meet real social needs. However, it is necessary to weigh whether this activity may give credibility to the false pretences of the regime and thereby help to uphold it....

The refusal front is also a front of active struggle. The government is certainly going to try to break it by means of blackmail and corruption. Our task is to stand together against this. Every case of blackmail must become a public issue. That undermines any effect

Continued overleaf

Intl Solidarnosc protests against Toronto *Sun* ruse

The Information Office of NSZZ Solidarnosc in Canada, closely associated with the Canadian Labour Congress, has officially made known its displeasure with the use of the famed Solidarnosc logo by a featured columnist of the Toronto daily tabloid newspaper, **The Sun.**

Zygmunt Przetakiewicz is now using his former association with the Canadian Information Office along with the Solidarnosc logo to imply some legitimate association with, if not approval of his views, by the official leadership of Solidarnosc. Now in exile, it operates as the Co-ordinating Office NSZZ Solidarnosc Abroad. The present director of the Canadian Information Office is Wojciech Galewski who supervises the publication of *Solidarnosc News*, obtainable on request from OFL office, 15 Gervais Dr., Don Mills, Ont.

As a **Sun** columnist, Przetakiewicz is now vigorously beating the drum in support of the cold-war warrior, millionaire, and former owner of the **Sun**, Peter Worthington. "Reaganite" Worthington is presently campaigning as the Progressive Conservative candidate to replace NDP MP Lynn McDonald in the Toronto Broadview riding.

Przetakiewicz has no authority whatsoever to use the symbol of the 10-million-member Polish Solidarity trade union movement, formed as an independent self-governing trade union and recognized by the Polish government through the signing of the Godansk Accords of August 1980. Now brutally suppressed by the Jaruzelski military regime it continues from the underground to project the concept of workers' self-management or workers' control of the Polish economy.

by Ross Dowson

Solidarity with British Mineworkers struggle

The following statement of support to the striking National Union of Mineworkers in Britain comes from a group of Warsaw members of Solidarity, now driven underground by the Jaruzelski regime and publishing the bulletin *Robotnik* which has a circulation of 6,000 to 7,000 copies. The letter not only comes out of the strong sense of international working class unity that permeates the Polish workers but is prompted by the fact of the sharp increase in Polish coal exports to Britain in the recent period that can only serve to strengthen the Thatcher government's resolve to break the miners strike there.

The following English version of the open letter was turned over to us by Bruce Allen of the Polish Workers Solidarity Committee of St. Catharines, Ontario upon his return from a recent visit to Poland.

To Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers: "For months now we and thousands of our union colleagues have been avidly watching your struggle in defence of your right to work. We well know that your fight at this time is taking on an increasingly universal signficance. It is a simple fact that it will effect the very existence of the British trade union movement.

We have already condemned the Jaruzelski regime's exports of Polish coal to Great Britain and we will continue to do so with all the resources at our disposal.

With Thatcher getting along so well with Jaruzelski it is timely to draw logical conclusions. That is why we hope that in the name of workers' solidarity you will reverse your unfriendly attitude to our movement.*

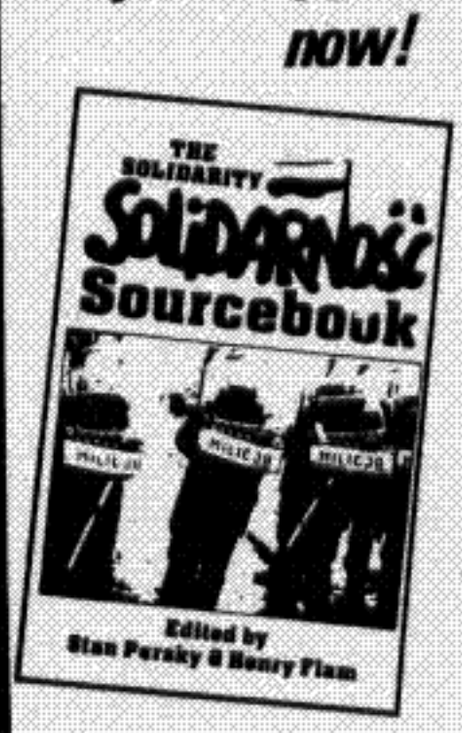
We want to express through you our solidarity and support for the striking miners and all British workers."

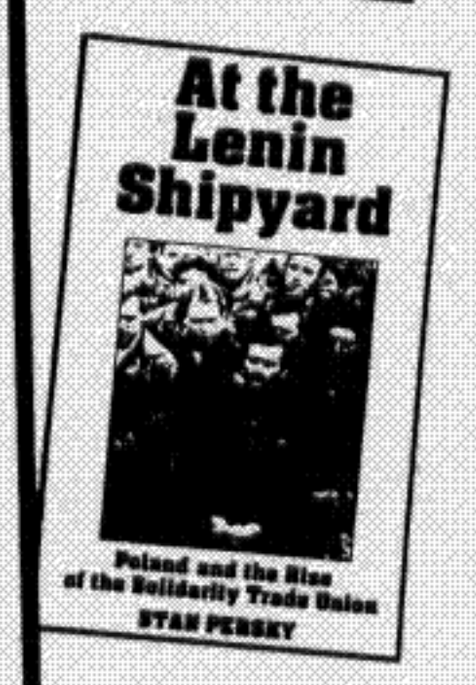
Executive Board of *Robotnik*
(Bulletin of the Inter-Factory Workers' Committee of Solidarnosc)
Robotnik Political Group
Group Emmanuel Goldstein

*When the Jaruzelski regime in Poland imposed martial law in its on-going attempt to crush Solidarnosc, Scargill refused to come to its defence.

from **Forward**, No. 51, Toronto

Order your copy now!





order from Polish Workers Solidarity Committee
240 Rusholme Road,
Toronto, M6H 2Y5.
$8.50 postpaid / cheque or money order.

Program of Solidarnosc

continued from overleaf

it might have and makes it more difficult to use this means in the future.

Another form of defense against corruption is the constant collection of aid funds, the formation of committees of social aid, the demand for credit and aid unions as well as for workers vacation funds, independent of the phoney trade unions. We cannot let things ever go so far that the shame of appealing to the progovernment unions becomes the only way out for people in real need.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

After existing for 38 years, the Polish People's Republic has come to the verge of absolute want. With our food rationed and deprived of medicine and clothing, we have been thrown into a position of bankrupcy, and a debt of 30 billion dollars is going to burden us for many years. Enormous wealth is being wasted in unutilized plants and incompleted projects. We are falling further behind in technology.

The way in which Polish economic potential is being used is taking on features of colonial exploitation. Ruinous exploitation of the coal mines has caused dozens of deaths, and it is leading to the devastation of the mines and the destruction of Poland's raw materials reserves

Deprived of investment, agriculture is incapable of feeding the people. The destruction of the environment is threatening the biological basis of the national life.

The state of war dictatorship has done nothing but carry out a program of huge price increases, without offering in return any perspective for improvement of the economic situation. This program, in isolation from the other market and organizational mechanisms, has led in one year to a drastic decline in the standard of living by more than 36%. Today already one third of workers families are living on the verge of destitution. At the same time, the society has to bear the enormous burden of maintaining a vastly swollen repressive apparatus.

A new increase in prices is promised. It will cause a further impoverishment of society, spread want, and threaten the minimum for existence.

The state of war and the legislation passed under it are reducing the chances for getting out of the crisis.

The reform calling for self-activity, self-management, and self-financing has led in fact only to changing the facade of the old discredited system of planning from above and to a militarization of the main branches of the economy.

The drastic limitation of the rights of workers has created slave-labor conditions, with forced labor, the administrative chaining of workers to their workplaces, and the threat of losing your work for political reasons. In such conditions, the self-management economic reform becomes a fiction. The self-management bodies cannot carry out their obligations.

We cannot take responsibility for the state of the economy. We must, however, be careful to maintain it on a level that will assure the best possible conditions for reconstructing it in the future.

We cannot accept a further decrease in the standard of living. The most important point in the program of defending the basic interests of the people and workers is becoming the struggle for survival. It will be waged in every workplace and on every farm. We support every initiative that helps to organize the farmers to defend their rights.

In the workplaces, we will wage this struggle by means of every possible form of pressure, including:

— Demanding strict observance of the labor code, the regulations on workload and pay, the regulations on technological norms, health conditions and so forth.

— Demanding accurate information about decisions regarding production and the results, the distribution of the wage fund and bonuses, the functioning of the social services. Publicizing wrong decisions that have been covered up, unpopular directives, examples of waste, incompetence and repression.

— Organizing collective protests, petitions, and refusal to work overtime, boycotting directives that restrict the rights of workers and create divisions among them. The most powerful and effective form of collective protest is the economic strike.

— Using the workers self-management bodies where there are possibilities to make them serve to defend the living conditions of the workers and protect them against repressive acts. Depriving the self-management bodies of the possibility for acting in these areas should be the signal for the members of the workers council to resign and appeal to the workers to boycott the self-management board.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Solidarnosc arose out of common protest, out of the common work and struggle of various strata of society. In building this movement we overcame divisions that the government had consciously and deliberately created. The continued cooperation of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals is the guarantee of victory.

The society can avoid the dangers created by totalitarian rule in the areas of political and social consciousness, education, and national culture by thinking politically, knowing its own history, valuing genuine culture that does not lend itself to ideological manipulation. Therefore a central task today is encouraging thinking.

In this, a special role falls to intellectual and creative circles, from whom the society expects work for the good of all. We support every independent initiative. We will create a social fund and system of grants to enable them to become independent of the dictatorship.

It is necessary to encourage social thinking among workers by undertaking self-education projects, building up the network of union bulletins, libraries, and independent publishing operations.

The following are examples of the independent institutions and initiatives that are necessary: setting up means for selling publications and art works, press and radio, independent education for our common good. Such initiatives must be supported and defended. The existence of such a current builds independent thought and activity in the society and prepares it for living in a democratic republic based on self-management.

PREPARING FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE

The general strike is the most powerful form of our struggle. Mass participation in struggles for limited demands is an important stage in preparing for it. Conducting such a strike depends on many factors, of which the basic are the following:

— The level of social self-organization and determination.

— General understanding of, and agreement with, the goals.

— The international political situation.

These same factors also affect the readiness of the dictatorship to smash the workers. Up until now, a regime that is politically prepared to use every means in waging war on the society has found sufficient forces to break strikes.

This readiness to use force cannot last very long. It involves great political and social costs. The time is coming when the strike weapon will again become a real means for struggle, when a decision to use force against striking workers would seriously threaten the survival of the dictatorship itself.

The perspective of a general strike — which is inevitable in our opinion — does not represent an abandonment of our program for changing the system through evolutionary means. It only indicates the way of breaking the grip of the present dictatorship and creating the conditions for moving forward toward democratic reforms.

In the process of preparing for the general strike, we must formulate a minimum social program, a body of strike demands. On the one hand, these demands should guarantee the advance of the reform program. On the other, they should take into consideration the limitations that arise from internal and international political realities. ■

from **International Viewpoint** No. 27, Paris, France.

Jacek Kuron, left, founding member and leading theoretician of KOR, upon his release after almost three years of imprisonment, declared that the amnesty was designed to prevent himself and associates from defending themselves from the charges of subversion and from indicting the Jaruzelski regime. The amnesty "from which we cannot appeal served to prevent the trial which we have been demanding," he said, and is "a continuation of all those acts of lawlessness." Andzej Gwiazda, right, was a founding member of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast, a delegate to Solidarity's First Congress and deputy Chairman of the National Committee. Upon his release he declared that the amnesty, while it may get some dollars for the regime, is a gesture of conciliation, but not with us nor with society."

---

by Lech Walesa

At the moment of the commencement of the trial described by the authorities as the trial of KOR, I think with emotion and a feeling of solidarity about the four 'Solidarność' activists who will appear in the dock: Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Romaszewski and Henryk Wujec. I know them well; we fought together. I know that they are honest and courageous people.

Each imprisonment, each sentence passed on people from 'Solidarność' threatens Poland. I am certain that millions of people are demanding their release, as I do. This trial also attempts to put in the dock KOR itself, and to erase the memory of the help given by the Polish intelligentsia to the Polish workers. I myself, when I was down, ate KOR's bread. One does no forget such things. I would like to say one thing: no-one will succeed in dividing Polish 'Solidarność'.

3 July 1984

from Solidarnosc NEWS, August 17, 1984 a newsletter compiled by the Information Office of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" in Canada, c/o Canadian Labour Congress, 15 Gervais Dr., Don Mills, Ont. M3C 1Y8, mailed on request.

Printed by union labor.

Jobs thru shorter work week

by P. Kent

There are an estimated 1,472,000 Canadians — 11.8% of the work force — unemployed. According to a Conference Board projection unemployment will remain at this scandalous level until at least 1990. Of those who are employed the number working only part time is skyrocketing. Part time workers make up 15.4% of the total work force. Young people from 15 to 25 years of age are estimated to constitute 17 to 19% of the unemployed. A recent study by the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto claims, contrary to StatsCanada's estimate of 533,000, that the real level of unemployment in this group is 47.8% higher — "a startling 26.5% of the unemployed". Singling out the youth in this army of unemployed a Canadian Mental Health Association report characterized them as "a sacrificial generation of disposable people."

Unemployment and its widening threat is the single most important issue confronting the working people of Canada — and yet federal and provincial government plans to ameliorate this criminal situation are in effect non-extistent, while layoffs and plant closures, even by the same corporations which have been bailed out with vast government handouts like Massey Fergusson which got 200 million dollars, continue to take place.

According to a report in the **Brantford Expositor,** at the moment that Massey-Fergusson's Chairman Victor Rise was praising "'the human factor' as having restored us to profitability", and on that same day as he emphasized that this was due to: "Not machine tools. Not computers. Not strategic plans. But People," 1,350 workers were laid off at Massey-Fergusson plants in Brantford and in Toronto.

It is this ever-more threatening situation that roused the delegates at last spring's Canadian Labour Congress convention to ditch the leadership's no-action-program for economic recovery and endorse a program that emphasized the need to establish by union contract a 32 hour week with no loss in take-home pay. The mood of the delegates was buoyed up by the stirring strikes of key sectors of the West German working class, particularly the steelworkers joined by the printers who broke through the barriers of elaborate class collaborationist legislation imposed following World War II in a massive strike struggle for a 35 hour work week. They finally settled for 38½ hours with full take-home-pay, to take effect in April 1985. Their aim in cutting back the work week was to bring half of the 2.4 million unemployed back into the shops.

At the same time a task force established by the Ontario NDP to deal primarily with the impact of technological change on the work force — computers and robots — handed down its report. Co-chaired by the now MP Michael Cassidy and Ontario MPP James Foulds it stressed the need to cut the legislated work-week in the province of Ontario down to 32 hours with all workers having the right to participate in decisions about technological change.

According to Cassidy the corporations should be able to pay the same wages and salaries they now pay, for fewer hours of work as the new technology results in productivity gains. The report estimated that 782,000 new jobs would be created in the province — enough to completely eliminate unemployment if the shorter work week were gradually introduced. The task force recommended that basic vacations be raised immediately from two weeks to three weeks and to four by 1989. And it urged that paid overtime should be limited to a maximum of four hours.

The trade union brass have long given only lip service to the demand for a shorter work week with the same take-home pay, as they have to the concept of trade union organization of the unemployed. Laid off workers retaining full voice and vote in their locals would serve as a powerful force to keep the question of the shorter work week in the union's bargaining and contract settlement, up front where it belongs.

Larger union locals, some of which draw their members from a concentrated community, could be instrumental in helping to build an independent and all-inclusive powerful union of unemployed workers, encompassing the increasing number of the youth, both male and

Continued on page 2

forward
FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM
Vol. 8 No. 5 |51| ISBN 0700-9038 Nov.-Dec. 1984 Toronto 50 cents

NDP leadership for revision of policy

by Paul Kane

NDP policy is once again coming under attack — not this time from Liberal leader Turner's attempt to deny the NDP the position of the real opposition, or from Prime Minister Mulroney and his aides. Mulroney is trying to soften up the party, to butter it up with sweet talk of "consensus" and "national conciliation".

No sooner was the election out of the way when Ian Deans, NDP MP Hamilton-Mountain, with his authority as house leader in the Commons, flung a few more darts at now familiar targets — the party's advocacy of Canada's withdrawal from the NATO nuclear-armed US-dominated military alliance, and the party's policy of public ownership of key sectors of the economy.

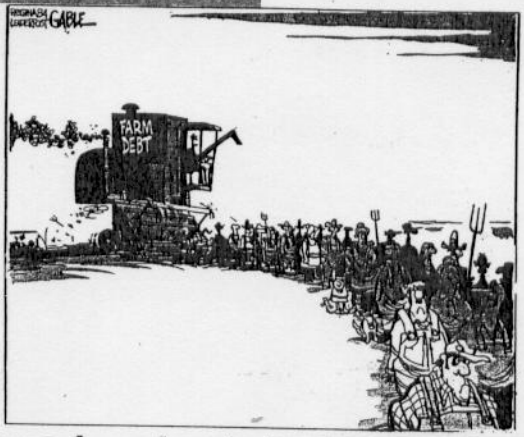
Deans did so in conjunction with a statement approving the appointment of former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis by Mulroney, as his government's ambassador to the United Nations. Saying that he has "some serious questions about withdrawing from NATO", he protested that his "problem with nationalization has always been that every time some one does something wrong in our judgement, we threaten to nationalize them and we seem to use it as a punishment." The truth is - the word is seldom uttered.

Then, while announcing his resignation as the NDP's national secretary, Gerry Caplan, in a series of wide-ranging glancing comments with a **Globe and Mail** reporter, made an even more sweeping attack on the party's program. In the process of questioning the party's position on NATO and on public ownership he also questioned the party's identification with the organized labour movement. Pointing up the fact that the party has never won more than 20% of the vote, "it's time," he said, "to ask what went wrong." While he admitted "I don't know the answers," it would appear after the smoke cleared away from his shotgun blast that Caplan considers there is too much concern about adhering to party principles. The problem, he said, lies in deciding what is a principle and what is a tactic.

These attacks on the party's fundamental character as an anti-war party, and as a labour party committed to establishing a socialist democracy through public ownership and public control of the key sectors of the economy follows immediately on the heels of the federal election campaign during which the leadership continued to shift the party further to the right. It was just this rightward course, "the stressing of populist issues," according to Caplan, which resulted in what he calls "a comeback" for the NDP in this election.

One of the most popularized myths of Canadian politics, drawn on by both the right and the ultra left, is that the NDP has no stable constituency, no real class base in the population. What is readily recognized as a fact in Europe, that there is a working class consciousness, is not conceded to exist on the North American continent. And so, contrary to the facts, it is alleged that the NDP vote ebbs and flows due to

Continued on page 8



Canadian Autoworkers buck US leadership pattern

by Jean Laplante

When the leadership of the United Autoworkers Union, following a seven-day strike of tens of thousands of their members in major General Motors shops across the U.S., settled with that corporation's negotiators, they put tremendous pressures on the Canadian UAW members to follow suit. It was a poor settlement. Only 57% of the U.S. members who voted cast their ballots in favor of it. The traditional annual wage increase was given away for a gamble, by the workers' families with the corporate directors — a one shot lump sum payment which would not be built into the wage structures, and a share of the profits that might or might not accrue to the corporation.

The U.S. settlement has long been looked upon as setting a pattern for the Canadian members. But the Canadian leadership has vigorously opposed the concessions policies of the U.S. leadership and decided to break out of that pattern. After failing in attempts to negotiate what became known as a "made in Canada" contract, for the first time in 14 years the membership went on strike. In the course of their 13 day strike, the 36,500 Canadian GM workers closed down, not only GM's Canadian operations, but GM operations in the U.S. dependent on them

Continued on page 2

US hands off Nicaragua!

by the Editors

No one can any longer plead ignorance of the fact that the heads of the U.S., the most powerful nation on the globe, are waging a truly massive campaign, both overt and covert to strangle the tiny workers republic of Nicaragua.

After Reagan's secretly engineered assault on Grenada, who can have any illusions that the master strategists in Washington are not far down the road that could bring their extended war of attrition against Managua to climax in a monstrous destructive and bloody coordinated air, land and sea assault?

The preparations are right out in the open and they are total. They range from cynical employment of disinformation that there were super-sonic fighter planes on board a Soviet freighter that docked at the Nicaraguan port of Corinto — now conceded to be completely untrue. To the most brazen of lies that such eminent U.S. government figures as Defence Secretary Weinberger, no less, are lending themselves to — that it is impoverished and imperilled Nicaragua that has nefarious designs on neighbouring Honduras, when the simple truth is that it is Honduras that has been occupied by the U.S. military and transformed into a launching pad against Nicaragua. And psychological warfare of U.S. spy plane overflights violating Nicaraguan air space setting off sonic booms day after day to unnerve the Nicaraguan population as well as amass information for the contras.

The now routinized war of attrition — the three year U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary war—openly aimed at undermining the country's development, has caused 7,000 deaths in Sandinista and civilian ranks since March 1982, 400 million U.S. dollars worth of damage, a drastic drop in exports and a drain off of scarce resources for defence.

The working people of Nicaragua need every bit of help that they can get from Canadians. The Tools for Nicaragua campaign is an exemplary one. They need to hear expressions of solidarity from every assembly, no matter how small. And the cry **Hands Off Nicaragua** must be heard everywhere.

Benn meeting hails Br Miners

The struggle of the embattled National Union of Mineworkers that has been declared outlaw by the Thatcher government with its mobilizations of a massive police campaign of terror and violence is of critical importance to the entire British Labour movement and indeed the working class of the entire world. And it is necessary to aid this historic struggle in every way possible, said Tony Benn, leading spokesperson of the British Labour party Left, to a hurriedly organized public meeting in Toronto on November 7.

While standing clear of comments on the evasive role of the top trade union and labour party leaderships he praised the labour party and the trade union rank and file, the women's movement, the blacks and the gays, the anti-nuclear arms activists, whose response in solidarity with the miners is laying the basis for a re-shaping of the British working class movement. Despite the difficulties of the struggle Benn related many anecdotes demonstrating its impact across the British Isles that convinces him that the miners will win. The audience of 700 to 800 persons primarily activists in the trade unions, the NDP and in the feminist movement, responded by contributing a collection of almost $4,000.

Tony Benn, left and Arthur Scargill, right at London NUM solidarity meeting

forward #51 Nov 1984

ONDP supports Morgentaler

by Gord Doctorow

Unemployment, women's rights, Nicaragua and extension of public financing to Catholic schools were the issues that dominated the debates of the 1984 biennial Ontario New Democratic Party convention.

Just more than 700 voting delegates registered at the Hamilton Convention Centre for the three-day meeting at the end of June. The unusually low attendance reflected the general deterioration and demoralization of the riding associations that both the Ontario and federal branches of the NDP had been experiencing in recent years. The parliamentary caucus's narrow role helped create this atmosphere.

With the prospect of an imminent federal election and an Ontario election expected not long after, the party's core needed to be rallied as a united force.

MPP Richard Johnston's hard-hitting report on the shameful and widespread poverty in Ontario and party leader Bob Rae's populist speech on the current situation created the image of a fighting party. On the other hand, the leadership maneuvered to absorb and constrict dissidence. For example, the debating time, already tightly constrained, was chopped down to make time for a series of petit bourgeois, faddish, futurology talks.

Anticipating a rancorous division over the parliamentary caucus's support for extending state funding of Catholic separate schools to the end of grade 13, the leadership shelved the expected report of the task force on education. Then the NDP Provincial Executive presented the convention with an emergency resolution which tried to encompass dissidents by calling for job security for education workers and funding guarantees for the public school system.

On the unemployment issue: The convention was presented with a large task force report in which the question of the shorter work week was reduced to a proposal for a legislated 40-hour work week (presently 48 hours) and a phased reduction to 32 hours by 1990 with no loss in take-home pay.

This report sidestepped involving the party in the current trade union struggle for the shorter work week to counter massive unemployment. At the same time, with the target date of 1990, it freed the party from any commitment in the coming provincial election campaign to a major reduction of the legal work week in its first term of office.

The Left Caucus responded with a referral from Ottawa delegate Marv Gandall who proposed that the immediate goal conform to the 35 hours with no loss in pay advocated by the Canadian Labour Congress. In addition, Gandall's referral opposed work sharing schemes and supported projected union struggles for the CLC's demand. The party brass killed the referral by enlisting the support of OFL Secretary-Treasurer Terry Meagher who spoke against it and mobilized their considerable block vote of unionists against their own unions' official position. The chairman, Jeff Rose, president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, allowed debate to be cut off after hearing only two speakers.

A symbolic concession: The convention adopted telegrams of solidarity with the British coal miners and with the German metalworkers' struggle for a 35-hour work week — both resolutions moved by Left Caucus supporters. Praise for the German struggle was echoed in federal party leader, Ed Broadbent's, speech.

The party and trade union leadership actually weakened the task force report through an amendment eliminating the 1990 target date. With the adjournment of the convention the amendment died, but will come before the next provincial council meeting.

The biggest challenge before the convention was for the party to move beyond its passive pro-abortion-choice position and to explicitly support the campaign to establish legal abortion clinics and to defend Dr. Morgentaler's court struggle to establish this legality. To maintain activist support, the top circles of the party leadership and trade union brass supported a resolution moved by leading pro-choice campaigner Judy Rebick that contained these ideas. After an extended debate in which MPPs divided on both sides of the issue, the convention majority adopted the resolution. Although a major victory for the women's movement it was won only after a lot of hard fighting including defeating the Provincial Executive's conciliationist opportunism in recommending that Right to Life be permitted to set up a table at the convention.

The last major debate was on the resolution proposed by MP Dan Heap, which called for establishing an NDP representative in Nicaragua to monitor the situation as an aid to the revolutionary government against U.S. military intervention. Despite the fact that this proposal had the support of 29 ridings, the highly manipulated Resolutions Committee and the chair prevented this resolution from obtaining priority for floor discussion. Eventually, it was debated and defeated.

Morgentaler case

by Angie Codina

"...a victory for the women of Canada," Dr. Henry Morgentaler was overheard to say in the excitement and crush of the crowd as he was acquitted of conspiring to commit illegal abortions. A jury of six women and six men found him not guilty on charges that could have resulted in a penalty of life imprisonment.

Morgentaler openly admitted breaking the law—a law that violates women's rights. It became very clear through the widely reported evidence presented at the trial that the present laws discriminate not only against women but in particular against working class women. Dr. Watters of McMaster University gave convincing evidence showing how the law oppresses women. Various medical and other witnesses further pointed out the increase in the danger to women's health as abortions are delayed through the therapeutic committee process. Many women were attracted to Morgentaler's free-standing abortion Toronto clinic for this reason.

The present criminal legislation with respect to abortion has created and perpetuates a situation in which women have inevitably been forced to go to other provinces or outside of the country in order to obtain an abortion.

The Morgentaler decision reflects growing disillusionment with Canada's present abortion laws. A significant majority of Canadians presently believe that the abortion decision should be left to the woman and her doctor. The Canadian Medical Association has decided that the decision as to whether a woman should have an abortion should be made solely by herself and her doctor. Recently the Canadian Psychiatric Association echoed this position.

It is clear that the public feels that the government should not be concerned with legislating personal moral beliefs. The acquittal reflects the desire of the public to protect a democratic right that women should have, notwithstanding the concentrated opposition of the judicial system and the legislators to deny women such a right.

Morgentaler carried out an exemplary and principled legal defence openly and publicly, defying a viciously reactionary law. The women's movement must mobilize the broadest defence in order to support Morgentaler's plans to reopen his clinic and block further persecution. In particular, the Manitoba NDP government should withdraw its charges against him as Mary Rowles, president of the Ontario NDP women's committee urges, and permit the establishment of free-standing clinics in order to reflect its commitment to women's rights.

Across Canada with NDP

The BC trade union movement has not yet recovered from the Socred government's austerity drive and the betrayal of the mass Solidarity mobilizations by Woodworker top brass Jack Munro, just one year ago. But on November 8 the electorate in Okanagan North and in Vancouver East went to the polls to reject Socred and elect two more NDP members to the BC legislature.

On the East coast, while the Nova Scotia Progressive Conservative government was swept back into office in a landslide victory primarily at the expense of the Liberals who lost severn seats, the NDP elected three members and regained official party status. In the metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth area the NDP polled 32% of the votes to eclipse the Liberals. In a mid-October by-election the NDP made a breakthrough in Newfoundland. It finally succeeded in electing its first member to the House of Assembly there.

It was one year ago, on November 13, as the BC trade unions organized in Solidarity and the community movements mobilized in Solidarity Support Coalitions, were posed for a possible general strike, that Munro returned from a Kelowna summit meeting with Socred Premier Bennett with a secret deal which put everything on hold. But Munro had no deal and the movement collapsed.

The government's program of cutbacks in social legislation was supposed to get the economy moving again, but as James Matkin, head of the BC Business Council has now had to admit, "the economy hasn't recovered, it hasn't turned around and that was what we were all led to expect and anticipate."

BC Federation of Labor president Art Kube, co-chairman of Solidarity and side-kick of Munro, said that the government "created a climate of fear . . . and there's no recovery in sight. Sure they bloodied the union movement"

US steps-up Cruise testing

Three Air Launched Cruise Missile (ALCM) tests are planned between January and March of the coming year, two of which are to be "free flight" launches. And "up to six live launches per year could be conducted in the Canadian test corridor" in subsequent years, according to a special report appearing in an early September issue of the **Montreal Gazette**. This information on plans for further joint Canadian-U.S. government development of the ALCM is among the highlights of more than 500 pages of cruise missile-related government documents obtained under the Access to Information Act.

A November 7, 1983 briefing note to the then external affairs minister acknowledges that "the next generation of 'stealth' type cruise missiles" may have an "over the (North) pole" capability. A **Gazette** interview with David Morrison of the Center for Defence Information discloses his belief that "the U.S. will probably want to test in Canada its next generation, called the Advanced Cruise Missile (ACM) with a range of more than 3,200 kilometres and stealth or radar dodging capability." Morrison said that other military tests are likely to occur under the CAN-US agreement, including laser or other electro-optical weapons which could potentially be used to "visually disable enemy soldiers."

from Oct-Nov **The Activist**, published by ACT.

RCMP ON TRIAL

The five part docu-drama shown last fall on City TV. Written by Roberts and Sobelman, direct by David Sobelman now available on videotape on loan from **Socialist Rights Defence Fund**, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5 $25 deposit refundable with thanks to **Citytv**

Labour Focus on Eastern Europe

Summer 1984 issue features

- Hungary /56—a young toolmaker, 23 years old in 1956, elected president of the Central Workers Council of Greater Budapest, breaks silence.
- Declaration of Solidarity with the British miners' struggle against Thatcher.
- Yugoslavia between the IMF and Socialism, etc.

$3.50/copy, sub. $12/4issues,ppd FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1

TYPESET BY UNION LABOR

forward #51 Nov 1984

EDITOR: Ross Dowson

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from *FORWARD* may be reprinted without fee as long as *FORWARD* is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to : Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5C 2K1.

Inside report on Nicaragua from Spadina NDP bulletin

by John Bacher

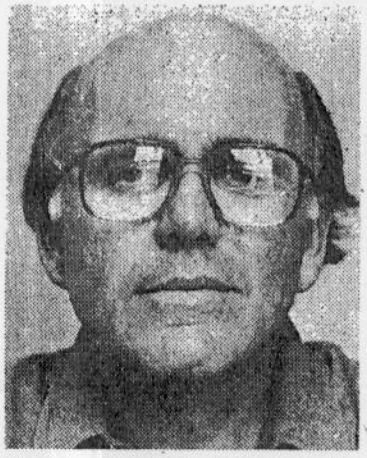
The recently re-elected Toronto Spadina NDP MP Dan Heap and the riding's Foreign Policy Committee are demonstrating some of the benefits that would come with an NDP observer in Nicaragua, which he, the Left Caucus and many other riding associations have unsuccessfully pressed for. So far they have reproduced two on-the-spot reports by a University of Toronto professor who is also a director of OXFAM, Meyer Brownstone. These reports give fresh insights on the Central American struggle which cannot be gathered from the stale repetitions of Reaganite propaganda that fill the daily press, radio and TV.

Brownstone's first report dealt with the success of the Sandinista-led revolution in building a unique experiment in socialist democracy. It details how this has even surpassed the democratization that has been achieved by popular struggles here in Canada — through such features as a 16-year voting age, equal funding of all political parties to the sum of $300,000 from the public purse regardless of size, free television time for all parties and the right of political parties to buy unlimited amounts of radio time.

Defeated presidential candidates are guaranteed seats in the new congress. Seven parties are participating in the elections. The three right-ist parties which have declined are doing so out of their insistance that the Nicaraguan government negotiate with the CIA-financed "contra" raiders.

Brownstone shows the voter registration process used in war-torn Nicaragua to be far superior to the compiling of election lists in Canada, and notes its significance in a country where this is the first time there is participation in government by the majority and for the majority.

He reports that he spent four days observing the registration process in urban settings and then travelled extensively in the countryside. His observations? He answers, "Overall the results could only be described as excellent."



The Rt. Reverend Robert Smith, moderator of the United Church of Canada.

Brownstone states that "the turnout, the adherence to the law, the effectiveness of the process met the tests of international democratic standards and certainly those of Canada and the U.S. where of course different (and in my view inferior) forms of devising voters lists are used. Meeting these tests is crucial for Nicaragua — but what is more crucial is the tremendous community and personal efforts involved in expressing political and social rights."

In the city people stood in line for up to several hours... in the rural areas, people walked a difficult total of up to 10 kilometers. In one of the regions a registration centre was attacked and two electoral police killed. In another a farm, a kilometer from the registration locale, was attacked by 2,000 contras. Eight of the farm workers were murdered before the eyes of their families who were threatened with a similar fate if they registered — then 14 others were kidnapped.

In his second report Brownstone relates **A Tale of Two Worlds**, the story of refugees in Honduras and in Nicaragua. In Honduras, El Salvadoran refugees "are in camps... denied all civil rights ...have been harassed, some have been tortured or murdered." A young Spanish doctor, Eliseda Portabella, who worked with refugees, was tortured and killed by Honduran government troops. Despite economic hardships Nicaragua has been able to establish co-operative farms for Salvadoran refugees and has not imposed any restraints on their mobility. The refugees have become literate, their children are at school and the adults are taking evening classes. In Estali Salvadoran refugees co-operatively produce clothing, pottery and craft goods.

Brownstone also notes the impressive social achievements Nicaragua continues to make in spite of adversity and the global erosion of hard-won gains of working people through a neo-conservative tide. Land policy has been based on what Brownstone calls "the old CCF rallying cry 'production for use, not for profit'." Apart from the confiscation at the outset of the revolution of lands of Somoza and his followers, misused and underutilized lands have been appropriated. Some 13% of the land is held by co-operatives, 23% in state farms and 65% privately owned. Farm workers have been protected by the strong ATC union and laws that provide for minimum wages and social services. Advanced services are found in even small farm communities.

Barricada

Commander Leticia Herrera was one of the 34 women candidates chosen by the FSLN among its 180 choices for the National Assembly. During the insurrection's final stage women accounted for nearly a third of the Sandinista combatants providing the backdrop for their strong presence today throughout the country.

In one community Brownstone saw: "1) a health centre offering curative and preventive services. 2) a community cultural centre. 3) a pre-school school attached to a primary school offering separate classes for three-, four- and five-year-olds; universal, and of course, without fees. It puts our daycare program to shame. 4) An Amnlae (Nicaragua's Women's Organization) centre. I was told that every woman in that community belongs. 5) nearby an agricultural training institute serving a 20Km radius and currently training some 300 young people in theory and practice. By all appearances it was an excellent facility, growing a wide variety of fruit, grain, vegetable crops, plus animal production. All of these structures were built by the people, with materials supplied by the state and foreign aid."

Most notable have been the advances made by women. In these elections 26% of the FSLN slate of 90 are women. Over 250,000 women are members of the Amnlae organization, which "organizes political action; economic activity; social services," and serves as "a major force in defence mobilization."

Brownstone movingly described the impact of the Contra raids on

→p.3

Read the SANDINISTA weekly

BARRICADA

INTERNACIONAL

Inside the official publication of the FSLN of Nicaragua you'll find accurate news and analysis of Nicaragua and Central America, with reports on U.S. aggression in the region and articles about Nicaragua's electoral process which is to conclude with elections on November 4th — all straight from Managua.

SUBSCRIBE NOW! Send cheque or money order to: BARRICADA Canada, P.O. Box 398, Stn. E., Toronto, Ontario M6H 4E3.

Distributed in Canada by Canadian Action for Nicaragua.

___ 6 months $23 ___ one year $45

___ send me a trial copy for $1

___ English ___ Spanish

Vice-president Sergio Ramirez and President Daniel Ortega with supporters.

Nicaragua, so ignored by a mass media usually prone to hysterical sensationalism in regards to "terrorism" elsewhere. Small groups of contras "are attacking individual and cooperative farms, killing, burning, kidnapping." Such tactics of terror constitute "a continuation of Somocism," and serve "to satisfy Ronald Reagan and his administration — their controller, planner, strategist, paymaster and supplier."

To counter such pressure, the Sandinistas have placed their full faith in the people. Our defence "exists in every family on every farm, every

Continued next page

Continued from page 2

community." In Estali every house he visited has weapons, usually automatic.

Brownstone sums up an important portion of his second report that deals with the relationship between party, movement, and the State, with the words: "One thing is certain Here in Nicaragua there is an unparalleled opportunity, given peace, to develop a strongly-participative form of democracy: something other third world countries have not been able to do. The basis for such a democracy has been laid here through revolutionary change in the distribution of political power."

Copies of these extensive reports can be obtained through Dan Heap's Toronto office—323 College Street, M5T 1S2.

"...fair, decisive and well administered"

A six member delegation of Canadians told a press conference held in Toronto upon their return from observing the Nicaragua elections that they had been "fair and decisive" and "well administered under exceptionally difficult conditions."

The delegation was composed of Rt. Reverend Robert Smith, moderator of the United Church of Canada; Rt. Reverend Basil Tonks, Anglican Suffragan Bishop of Toronto; Francine Fournier, president of the Quebec human rights commission; Meyer Brownstone, chairman of Oxfam, Canada; Michael Czerney, director of the Jesuit Center for Social Faith and Justice in Toronto and David Vickers, a former deputy attorney-general of B.C.

In the summary of their findings they said there was "evidence of press censorship of a minor nature which goes beyond the need to protect national interests" but added: "There was clear and convincing evidence of many occasions throughout the campaign where the policies of the government were openly and vigorously criticized by the opposition."

Other unofficial observers included Dan Heap, NDP, MP, Spadina, and Gerald Caplan, the party's executive secretary. Heap said that there is press censorship because the country is at war with rebel forces, but the election was "honestly run, the people knew what they were doing and why they were doing it."

The delegation said about 1.55 million voters, or 93% of those elegible were registered, and of these 83% actually voted. With returns tabulated from 69% of the polling stations the FSLN's Daniel Ortega was leading six presidential opponents with 67.1% of the valid votes already compiled. The official count is expected to give the Sandinistas 55 seats in the new 90-seat national assembly.

Elections as part of the revolution

The U.S. State Department's efforts to discredit the Nicaraguan elections were concentrated around the maneuvers of declared presidential candidate Arturo Cruz who had served for a period as ambassador to Washington. He was nominated by the Democratic Coordinating Committee (Coordinadora) dominated by the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), the main organization of the Nicaraguan capitalist class.

In July Cruz raised the absurd condition that the Sandinistas legitimatize the two main terrorist groups (contras) that had been ravaging the countryside. When this condition was brushed aside the Coordinadora refused to register its candidates who on August 20 were ruled as having lost their status. Following that the FSLN made several proposals, even the postponment of the elections entirely if the contras laid down their arms by October 25. Cruz and the other Coordinadora still refused to register, all talks ended, and the preparations for the Nov. 4 election continued.

A few capitalist parties, besides several small groups that call themselves Marxist ran against the FSLN which ran Ortega and Ramirez for president and vice-president and put up 180 candidates for the full and alternate seats to the National Assembly.

The FSLN candidates stressed that they were not just seeking votes but are urging the population to continue the struggle for social and economic change which commenced with the popular insurrection that toppled the Somoza tyranny in July 1979 and established a workers and farmers government.

The FSLN "Plan of Struggle" declared "In the first free elections in Nicaragua's history, which only the Sandinista revolution has made possible (the) people will reiterate on Nov. 4, 1984, the vote for the revolution that it casts every day in the factories, trade unions, cooperatives, neighborhoods, shops, classrooms in the building of the new Nicaragua."